

IN THESE TIMES

McGovern
under fire
Page 3



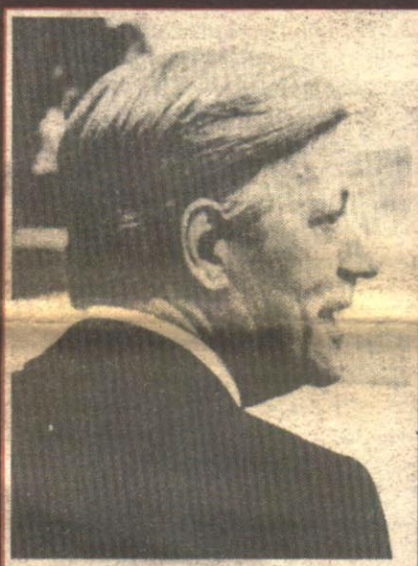
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75 CENTS

Germany rejects the hawks

Diana Johnstone reports from Bonn

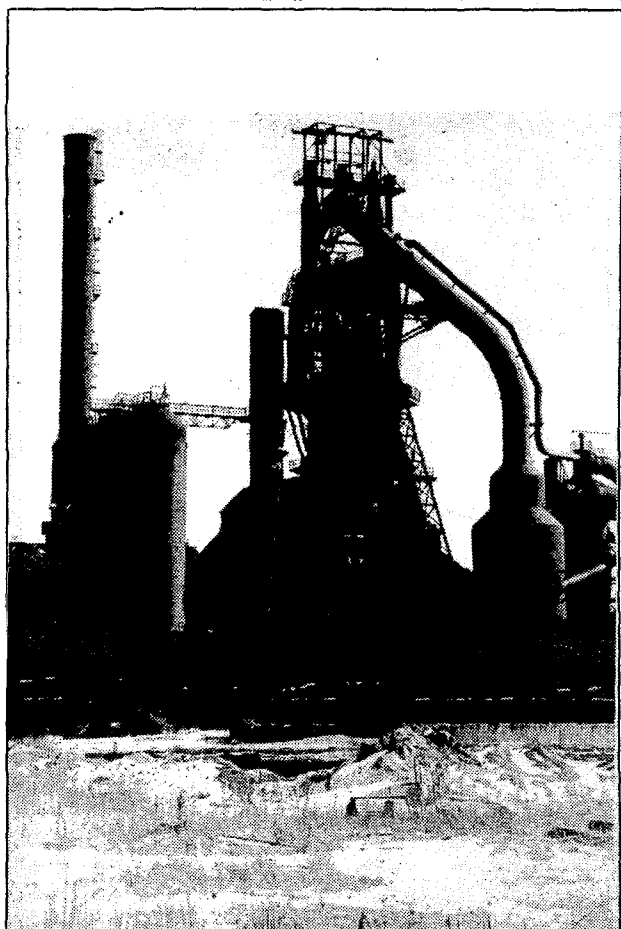


Victor, Helmut Schmidt

Unsuccessful challenger, Franz Josef Strauss

EXCLUSIVE • Left leader Tony Benn talks about
changes in the British Labour Party

THE INSIDE STORY



The troubles of the U.S. steel industry have less to do with business cycles than with major shifts in the world economy.

All recessions are not the same

By David Moberg

For many months before the current recession clearly gripped the U.S., economists were predicting its imminent arrival and were surprised—even disappointed—when it didn't start. Now they're equally uncertain if it is over. There were signs of an upturn in some indicators even as early as June, after nearly six months of a very steep drop that hit some parts of the economy even harder than the "great recession" of 1973-75.

But along with the indications of recovery came some unexpectedly large increases in the availability of money. Normally one might have expected that to lead to reduced interest rates. But such expansion—generally seen as a way of stimulating recovery—was taken as a sign that inflation would soon be zooming upwards again and that the Federal Reserve was not in control of matters. Interest rates climbed in anticipation.

The rise in interest rates, however, discourages individual and business consumers from borrowing money to buy things. Thus there was the fear—which led a politically worried President Carter to criticize Federal Reserve Board chairman Paul Volcker—that the high cost of money would throttle any incipient recovery and send the economy downward again, despite good news on abatements of both inflation and unemployment. But other economists figured the late summer improvement was in any case merely an upwards blip in a continued stagnant or worsening course.

These twists and turns of economic policy and performance are only part of what makes this recession peculiar. Many of its specific oddities can be traced to an increased skittishness among consumers and investors about where the country's economy is going. That, in turn, reflects growing difficulties of the government, using the restricted and conservative toolkit currently considered legitimate, in managing the range of economic problems the country faces. Most fundamentally, University of Michigan economist Tom Weisskopf argues, the nation's economic difficulties stem from its inability to produce enough of the right

things with its often aging, backward and mismanaged industry to satisfy all the growing demands placed upon it by everyone from OPEC nations and corporate titans to frustrated workers and concerned environmentalists.

Since the early '70s, the business cycle has been changing. Recessions have hit harder, recovery has been more sluggish, and there has been an underlying rise in the trend-line of unemployment and inflation. Recessions haven't "wrung out" inflation; recovery hasn't leveled unemployment. This recession started with unemployment at nearly 1 percentage point above the start of the last recession, and there's good reason to believe that the recovery—whether it's starting now or sometime next year—will be slow and leave unemployment rates at a high plateau.

Although the economy would generate cycles of boom and decline on its own, the start, finish and shape of the cycles are increasingly determined by government policy. The Federal Reserve tried to crank down the economy starting a year ago—and Carter had been squeezing it even longer—when it adopted a new policy of more steadily regulating the overall money supply with less attention to interest rates. But consumers—fearing that their money was losing value with inflation—stymied the plans by digging into their savings, or borrowing more, buying feverishly and prolonging the expansion. Inflation rates climbed and international pressures to stabilize the dollar as well as domestic political considerations nudged Carter and the Federal Reserve to further credit and budgetary austerity in March. An economy that had already peaked in January lurched into a precipitous decline.

This situation reflected another changed condition of the world capitalist economy: despite its continued central position, the U.S. no longer has the clear political and economic hegemony that the system needs to be orderly and that the U.S. needs to pursue a relatively autonomous economic policy.

International pressures.

International pressures increasingly call the tune domestically. The recession was led off by a drop in consumer demand exacerbated by high interest rates and credit restraints. That immediately choked off housing construction, one of a number of sectors of the economy to decline more this time than in 1973-75. But the leading victim in the recession was the auto industry. There the decline was in large part due to the rapidly decreased interest in the inefficient cars that the U.S. companies were manufacturing in large numbers. The 1979 oil price hikes and shortages had accelerated an ongoing shift in demand. Foreign companies, especially Japanese, took a bigger share of an already shrinking recession-era market. The effects quickly rippled out to auto parts, steel, tires, glass, plastics and other supplier industries. That in turn led to the peculiarly intense concentration of unemployment and recession hardship in the central industrial states of the Great Lakes region.

The failure of the U.S. and particularly the auto companies to come to grips with the changing world energy supply thus made this recession particularly severe. "Not adapting and coming to terms with OPEC as a whole society really gets shown in the auto industry," observes Howard Wachtel, professor of economics at American University. Indeed, UAW economist Dan Luria argues that if it were not for what he calls the "fuel event," there might not even have been a decline in GNP, the technical basis for defining a recession, merely a slowdown in growth.

Furthermore, Luria says, capitalists didn't really

need a deep recession this time to achieve labor discipline (one of the functions of recessions from the business viewpoint) since Carter's wage guidelines had managed to restrain the wage gains and redistribution of income toward workers that would have been typical of the later phases of an expansion period. This same restraint, which shows up in the steady erosion of workers' real incomes, may make this recession short—if high interest rates don't choke the recovery—but such reduced real purchasing power will also dampen recovery.

Permanent shifts.

But the role of the auto industry in the recession highlights some other important features of this downturn that are not connected with the business cycle as much as with major shifts in the world economy. With each recession now, University of Massachusetts economist Art MacEwan suggests, a portion of a number of basic industries is lost that will be regained during recovery only by foreign firms. Carter's revival of the trigger-price mechanism for steel is an attempt to stave off some of that shift for one politically sensitive industry. The environmental and tax concessions granted are intended to help the industry rationalize and modernize (yet not only is there no guarantee that such improvements will be made, there is also no guarantee that workers in the industry will be protected).

"Recessions don't perform the shake-out process all that well any longer," Weisskopf says. "There are lots of ways businesses can tide themselves through recession that interferes with...rationalizing inefficient firms. That could be seen as progress, not to have ruthless market discipline. But on the other hand, if you don't have the market and recession to rationalize the economy, you have to have some other mechanisms." The Chrysler bail-out and the trigger-price mechanism can be seen either as avoidances of such rationalization or attempts at finding new devices.

Shaken confidence.

"Rationalization" is also hindered by corporate investment policies. U.S. corporations have tended to emphasize high dividends and management bonuses and to downplay reinvestment, especially in modernizing established industries. A profit squeeze in the late '60s and early '70s, at the end of a long boom, hindered investment for a while, Weisskopf says, but now the major problem is instability and uncertainty. So far this recession has been marked by volatile shifts in the money supply (which the Federal Reserve couldn't completely control even if it wanted), by intense speculation in gold and silver, by panics over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Carter's saber-rattling, by the Iraq-Iran war and further uncertainties about oil prices and supply (from glut to worries of shortages in a matter of weeks), and by continued worries over renewed inflationary spirals. Carter's shifts in policies—typical of his entire administration—have worsened a bad situation.

Threats of declining "business confidence" are an effective way of blackmailing government, but it is also true that it is difficult for even the best intentioned business executive to plan investment when there is extreme instability. Although the previous cautious level of investment has held up fairly well through the recession so far, business will probably be very wary about expansion. That will mean, given the continuing growth in the number of people looking for jobs, that the rate of unemployment will continue to rise.

But it may be a mistake to think about the current

Continued on page 10

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New Right blitz may backfire

By John Judis

SIoux FALLS, S.D.

IN SOUTH DAKOTA'S SENATE ELECTION this November, three-term incumbent George McGovern faces Rep. James Abdnor, a colorless politician and inept legislator, whose main claim to fame is his unblemished support of right-wing causes. By all rights, McGovern should dispatch such an opponent with ease, but this year he faces some special obstacles.

Since last fall, McGovern has been the main target of New Right organizations, from the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) and the Committee to Defeat the Union Bosses to the Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC). These groups have saturated the media with anti-McGovern ads.

McGovern must also win re-election in a politically conservative state, made more so by the prospect of choosing between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. If one is to decide who poses the greatest threat to McGovern's re-election—Abdnor, NCPAC's John "Terry" Dolan, or Carter—Carter would win hands down.

New Right network.

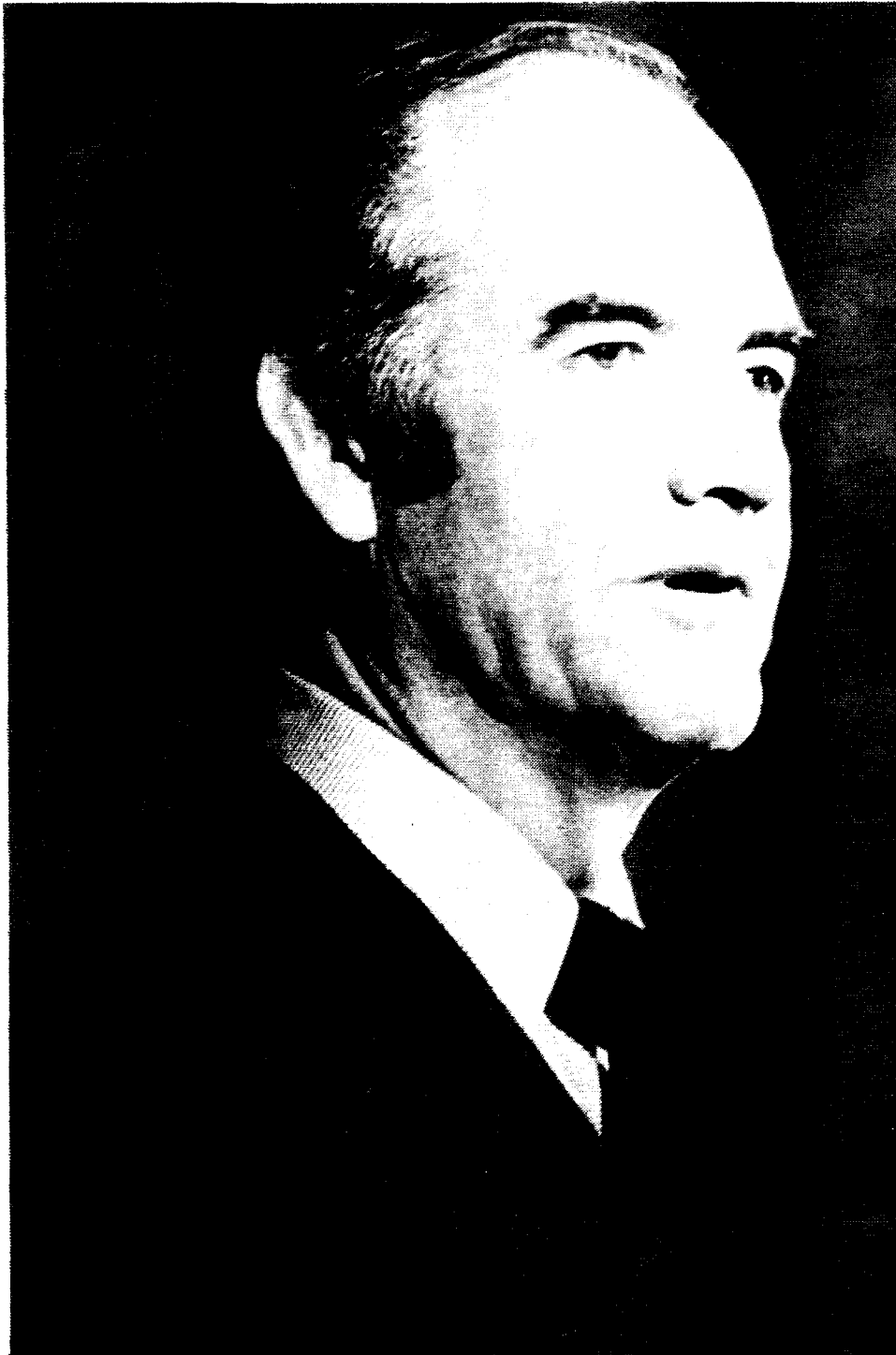
McGovern's main New Right opponents are NCPAC, LAPAC and the Rev. Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority. These organizations took advantage of a loophole in the federal election code that allows political action committees, which are normally limited to \$5,000 contributions to a candidate, to spend unlimited amounts in "independent" campaigns against that candidate's opponent. With the help of a myopic Federal Election Commission, NCPAC, LAPAC and the other groups were able to pass their campaign off as being purely anti-McGovern.

Each of these groups is part of a Virginia-Washington based New Right network that meets regularly under the aegis of direct mail wizard Richard Viguerie. NCPAC began targeting McGovern last fall along with four other liberal Senate incumbents up for re-election in 1980. In South Dakota, they operated through People for an Alternative to McGovern, headed by state representative Harold Wick.

Wick's view of McGovern was captured in a straight line he drew for my benefit on the table cloth of Sioux Fall's Happy Chef. At the right end of the line, he put anarchy, in the middle, the "America of the Constitution," and at the left end, dictatorship. Pointing to the left, Wick said, "I don't know if McGovern wants a dictatorship, but he definitely wants a socialist state."

NCPAC spent \$150,000 between September 1979 and July 1980 on anti-McGovern mailings around the state and

Republican challenger James Abdnor



mathematics professor who had not lived in South Dakota for 20 years, suddenly showed up in South Dakota last winter and declared his candidacy against McGovern. Campaigning primarily on defense and right-to-life issues, Schumaker drew most of his campaign funds from a mailing sent out by a member of the Religious Roundtable staff. The Roundtable is another Viguerie-New Right group, which has its headquarters on the same floor of the same Arlington, Va., building as NCPAC.

Satanic government.

The pro-life LAPAC supported Schumaker through its leaflets and through door-to-door organizing. LAPAC's principal targets were the small Catholic communities in northeast and southeast South Dakota. LAPAC's South Dakota chair Ellen Dempsey of White is a disillusioned Democrat. In the fall, LAPAC is organizing Catholic Democrats for Abdnor.

The South Dakota chapter of Moral Majority is mainly organizing anti-McGovern sentiment among Protestant Fundamentalists. Its South Dakota chair is the Rev. Ronald Tottingham, an ex-Marine, ex-convict, who was "born again" while working in a gas station outside of Springfield, Mo.

Tottingham's mission is to restore what he calls "Bible morality." Although now backing Reagan as the lesser of two evils, he has "never forgiven him for opposing the Briggs Initiative," a California ballot measure that would have barred homosexuals from teaching in public schools. He even sees opposition to detente as a "Bible issue." "It is compromise," he explained. "The Bible teaches no compromise."

Tottingham has blended some of the John Birch view of history with his own version of biblical prophecy. For instance, he foresees the creation of a "Satanic one-world government" through an alliance of Zionism and the Common Market. In another place and time, he might have been hanging around Bavarian beer halls complaining about the Jews and the sell-out at Versailles. As it is, he is one of McGovern's leading opponents in South Dakota.

But the New Right's offensive may have backfired. The intrusion of funda-

Continued on page 12

running anti-McGovern ads. These ads distorted McGovern's record, claiming, for instance, that McGovern "consistently votes against tax cuts" (he has consistently favored progressive tax reductions) or that he supports a 50¢ a gallon gasoline tax.

NCPAC claimed to have no connection to Abdnor's candidacy, but in Aug-

ust 1979, pollster Arthur Finkelstein did a poll for NCPAC showing Abdnor ahead of McGovern. NCPAC representative Wick discussed the poll with Abdnor and contributed it to his campaign as a \$500 donation from NCPAC.

NCPAC may even have been connected to McGovern's primary opponent, Larry Schumaker. Schumaker, a Texas

George McGovern sticks to his guns

By John Judis

What do you think is the significance of this senate election?

It's the first time my state has been made a laboratory for the entire nation. There's no question that the New Right has decided that this is the principal testing ground for the efforts to merge modern media and modern direct-mail techniques with right-wing objectives. We've seen a pretty sophisticated effort to demolish my public reputation these last two years. And it began long before they knew who my opponent was. They weren't interested in that. They were interested in destroying me, and they didn't care who replaced me, as long as it was some junior person with little or no influence, someone manageable.

I've never experienced quite that kind of thing before. In the '72 presidential campaign, we had a lot of clever media management. But then, I was always aware that the opponent was Richard Nixon, that it was two ideologies clashing, and two philosophies clashing. Here you almost feel my opponent is irrelevant.

The New Right has already had some success in defeating Iowa Senator Dick

Clark and New Hampshire Senator Thomas McIntyre in 1978. Do you think they succeed because of their methods or because of a conservative groundswell?

I think their methods are more unrestrained and more ruthless than we've seen in American politics. They are scoring successes against orthodox methods of campaigning. This direct-mail stuff is frightening because you don't know when one of your friends hands you one of those letters saying you're against the defense of the nation—you don't know whether that went to 500 people or 5,000. You don't know whether to call a press conference and answer it, or ignore it, or find out who got the letter and write them.

But isn't there a changing political atmosphere in this country that makes such appeals attractive?

I think there is more uncertainty in this country right now than at any time since I've been in public life. I don't know whether it's a big swing to the right or whether it's just a transitional period in which people are looking for certainty.

Why is there this uncertainty?

Well, it's the series of frustrating, disappointing experiences we've had: the experience of Vietnam, the first war we've ever really lost decisively, the embarrass-

"Liberalism is still the mainstream of American politics. We can't resolve the energy crisis or other problems without a strong role for the federal government."

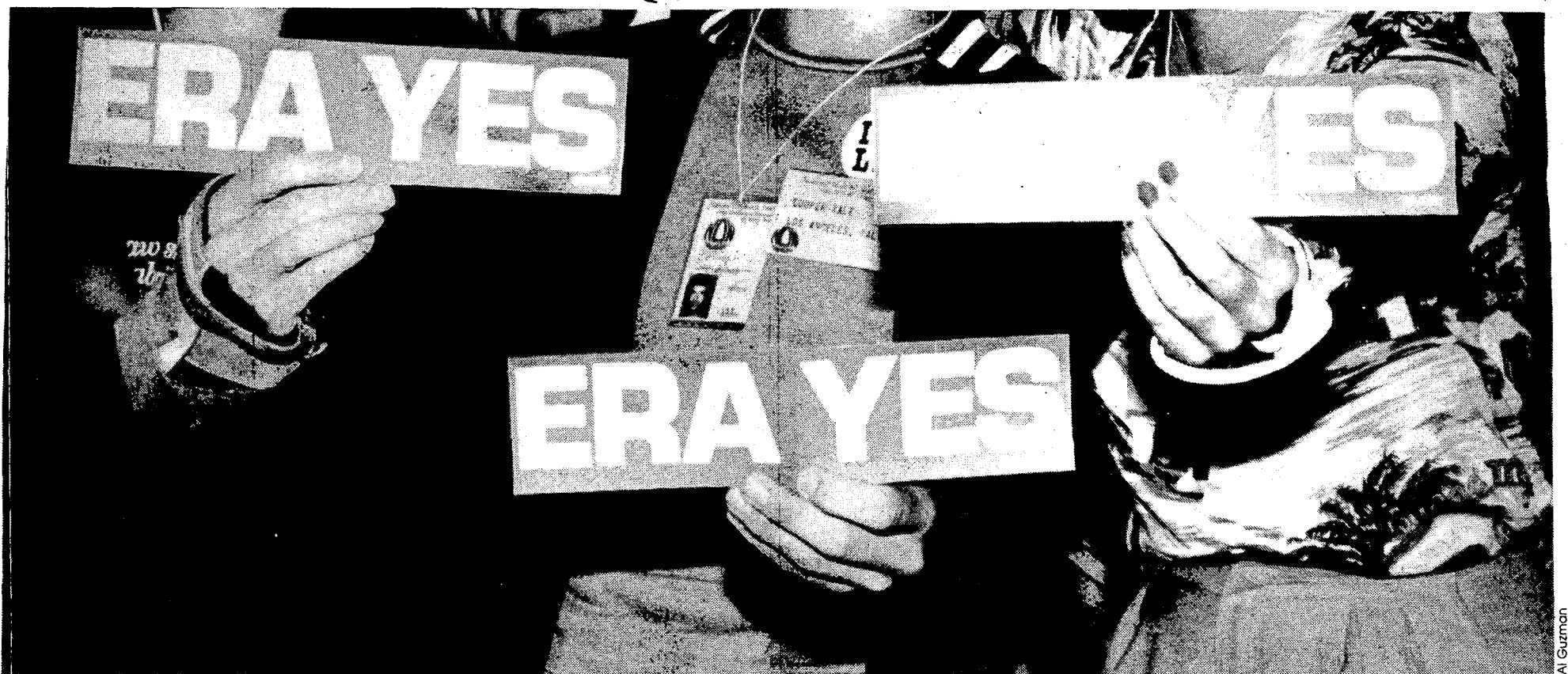
ment of Watergate, the frustrations of having a little country like Panama force us into an unpopular treaty, and on top of all that, having Americans seized at high noon and held for a year by a country that we should be able to dominate. Behind this there's also the relentless impact of inflation. Millions of people are in a quiet fury that they work, make more money than they ever did in their lives, and it buys less. I don't think inflation is compatible with democratic society.

Your opponents as well as some seemingly objective political observers say that you are too liberal for South Dakota. Do you think there's any truth in that?

They're probably right. If I weren't more

Continued on page 12

EQUAL RIGHTS



NOW takes aim at the Reagan ticket

By Linda Rocawich

SAN ANTONIO

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION for Women (NOW), at a weekend conference here last week, rescinded a 10-month-old policy of active opposition to the re-election of President Jimmy Carter and vowed an all-out effort to prevent the victory of Ronald Reagan next month. But the feminist group stopped considerably short of an actual endorsement of Carter. Many of its leading members remain staunch backers of independent candidate John Anderson and many others have not forgotten Carter's less-than-enthusiastic acceptance of the strong planks on women's rights NOW drafted and managed to incorporate into the Democratic Party's platform in August.

NOW remains silent on any official preference between Carter and Anderson. Though many individual members are, of course, die-hard advocates of one or the other, the sense of the majority was well-expressed Sunday by Pennsylvania delegate Molly Yard, who suggested that a

feminist should be out working hard for whichever of the two men has the better chance of denying Reagan the electoral votes of her state. And the "hard work" seems likely to come mainly in the form of anti-Reagan activity; the women pledged to "expose to the public Reagan's medieval stance on women's issues through national action." What they have in mind is picket lines wherever Reagan or Bush appears.

The occasion for this non-endorsement was a national conference of NOW's governing body—about 600 voting delegates elected to represent the 125,000 members of NOW's local and state chapters—which meets each October to set the goals and objectives of the organization. But NOW doesn't need a meeting to determine its highest priority: ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. How to secure it was the subject of the most intense discussion and debate of the weekend, and the group came away with a declaration of "a state of total mobilization for ERA ratification."

The mobilization campaign is the brainchild of NOW president Eleanor Smeal, who also heads the national coalition allied with NOW in the ERA ef-

fort. Her strategy, which the conference enthusiastically adopted as its own, will significantly broaden the ERA campaign and diversify its techniques at a time when national political commentators are sounding the amendment's death knell.

Smeal promises three major state ratification projects at least as big as this year's unsuccessful campaign in Illinois, to begin immediately after the 1980 elections. The targeted states have yet to be named since the decision will hinge, to some extent, on the outcome of state legislative elections next month, but speculation centers on Missouri, Florida, Virginia and Illinois. Smeal also promises continued lobbying efforts to stop all rescission drives in the ratified states.

But thousands of NOW members are becoming discouraged by their lack of success with the standard strategies of lobbying and electioneering and are calling for "massive national actions" and "creative non-violent protest." Some feminists have turned, in recent months, to civil disobedience. A group in Washington, D.C., protested the Republican Party's stand on women's issues by chaining themselves to GOP headquarters. Feminists in the San Francisco Bay area have demonstrated and trespassed at the Mormon Temple in Oakland and have chained themselves to the Pacific Stock Exchange in San Francisco. And they came to San Antonio ready to fight if NOW was unwilling to join them in taking the ERA campaign out of the state capitols and into the streets.

No fight was necessary. Smeal's proposal to the conference called for new tactics of nonviolent protest, and she asked that NOW officially focus its first project on the Mormon Church, which she described as "a religious establishment, a political force, and a multi-billion dollar empire that is systematically blocking ERA ratification in several states including Utah, Nevada, Arizona and Florida." Her idea—adopted with great enthusiasm by the delegates—is to turn the Mormons' practice of sending male missionaries across the world to preach their word back on them by sending feminist missionaries to Utah. NOW will soon create a volunteer unit to undertake a "Utah ERA Missionary Project."

NOW also committed itself to an aggressive "Stop HLA Campaign" in 1981-82 to fight the Human Life Amendment to the U.S. Constitution proposed by the so-called right-to-life movement. The proposed amendment would ban abortions and outlaw the most popular forms of birth control. A national kickoff with local and state actions will occur the week of Jan. 22—the anniversary of the Supreme Court's abortion decision.

In other action, the NOW delegates debated resolutions on all manner of issues of concern to women, including reproductive rights, minority rights, lesbian rights, economic justice, violence against women, nuclear power, education and early childhood development, physical and mental health and homemakers' rights.

Debate was heated when the conference took up one of the most troublesome issues facing feminists: draft registration. Earlier this year, when Congress was debating the revival of draft registration, NOW's national board took the position that it was, primarily and actively, opposed to both registration and the draft for anyone. But the board's policy statement continued with a "however" that disturbs a great many NOW members: "However, if we cannot stop the return to registration and the draft, we also cannot choose between our sisters and our brothers. We oppose any registration or draft that excludes women as an unconstitutional denial of rights to both young men and women."

The New Jersey chapter mounted an almost-successful effort to do away with the ifs, ands and buts, and move NOW firmly into the anti-draft camp. Its resolution would have the organization "unequivocally state that forceful conscription into the military is not a right and we therefore do not support its extension to women, but rather we propose that the exemption women currently have from being registered and drafted be extended to men." After an angry debate and a vote that, from my vantage point, looked too close to call, the proposal failed and the position NOW adopted last February stands.

Linda Rocawich, a former editor of the Texas Observer, writes from Austin.

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WEST GERMANY

The biggest fear was Strauss

By Diana Johnstone

BONN, W. GERMANY

BAVARIAN BOSS FRANZ JOSEF Strauss pulled the Christian Democrats down to well-deserved defeat in West Germany's Oct. 5 parliamentary elections. With Social Democratic (SPD) Chancellor Helmut Schmidt solidly occupying the middle ground, Strauss' only hope for victory was to arouse fears of intangible perils—inflation (though prices actually went down in September in West Germany), red terrorism, moral decline. In the end, the main fear aroused was of Strauss himself.

Even with Strauss as their standard-bearer, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), together with Strauss' Bavarian Christian Social Union (CSU), remained the country's largest party with slightly less than 45 percent of the vote. But this was almost four percentage points below their score four years ago, with the more colorless Helmut Kohl as leader. Clearly, many Christian Democratic voters who couldn't stomach Strauss either stayed home or gave their votes to the liberals of the Free Democratic Party (FDP), which, with some 10 percent, made the biggest gains.

The SPD's defensive campaign on the theme of "security for the '80s" aroused little enthusiasm, and its 43 percent of the vote marked only a very modest increase over 1976. The days when Willy Brandt promised an age of "permanent reform" are long past, and Schmidt's party promised only cautious preservation of the status quo. But that status happens to be about the most comfortable in the world today. Moreover, Schmidt currently stands out as a master in the delicate game of East-West politics so important to Germany. Schmidt was the sensible conservative choice.

The fact that the FDP made greater gains than the SPD should not displease Schmidt unduly. At least, the German left considers that Schmidt's election strategy aimed above all at saving his liberal coalition partners from defeat, since government partnership with the FDP is Schmidt's permanent alibi for not adopting policies urged by the left of the SPD or the labor movement. Some months ago, it seemed that the new Green Party of the ecological movement might get enough liberal votes to make the FDP fall below the 5 percent of the vote needed to be represented in the parliament. But the Greens did poorly, with scarcely 2 percent of the vote.

The FDP may actually have benefited from being singled out for particularly virulent attacks by Strauss and his CSU. With no economic reforms in the works, the FDP program set forth human rights reforms, such as repealing laws punishing homosexual acts. One CSU pamphlet was entitled: "For Homosexuals, Communists and Violent Criminals—The True Face of the FDP." A vote for the FDP was a vote against that type of Strauss mud-slinging. And once it appeared unlikely that the Green Party would get 5 percent, many people with ecological sympathies preferred to put their vote where it was sure to be counted against Strauss.

Ordinarily, a murderous bomb blast at Munich's folksy beer-swilling *Oktoberfest* should have been a natural last-minute boon to the right wing. Indeed, Strauss lost no time in proclaiming that the massacre (at least 13 dead, over 200 injured) proved what he had been saying all along, that the Social Democratic-Liberal coalition government in Bonn had encouraged terrorism by its softness on leftist extremists.

But this rang a little hollower than it might if the bombing had gone as planned. Instead, the bomb exploded prematurely, killing the young man who carried it. Before Strauss could open his

mouth, West Germany's super-computerized police had learned that the bomber was no leftist but Gundolf Kohler, 21, member of a Nazi military sports group banned early this year.

Moreover, the *Wehrsportgruppe*, founded in Bavaria in 1974 by former mercenary Karl Heinz Hoffmann, a fervent disciple of Hitler, whose sportsmen like to play with machineguns, grenades and even tanks, was banned by the Bonn government over protests from Strauss and his Bavarian state interior minister Gerhard Tandler. For years, Strauss and Tandler refused to take any measures against Hoffmann's "harmless, weapons-loving cranks" and accused those

ity" for the bombing because he had "demoralized police" and failed to infiltrate the milieu that allegedly "sympathize" with terrorists (meaning the left and liberal intelligentsia) with police informers and spies in order to "prevent leftist terrorism."

The liberal Baum, member of the Free Democratic Party, has incurred Strauss' wrath by suggesting that rising rightist terrorism is as great a threat as the apparently defunct Baader-Meinhof Red Army Faction. Strauss has been after Baum's head since he appeared in a public debate on terrorism with repentant ex-RAF lawyer Horst Mahler. The debate was part of Baum's effort to cool



The party of Helmut Schmidt (left) kept its distance from the left's efforts to defeat Franz Josef Strauss (right). For example, a guerrilla theater pageant stressing Strauss' Nazi ties (below) toured several cities.



who demanded such measures of creating "hysteria" against an imaginary right-wing extremist threat merely to distract attention from the deadly peril of red terrorism.

With the elections only a week away, candidate Strauss carried on as if something slightly different had happened. Boldly, he put the blame for the Munich massacre on Bonn interior minister Gerhard Baum. This was odd, since Baum was the man who had insisted on banning Hoffmann's group. But to Strauss, Baum bore "indirect moral responsibility"

anti-terrorist hysteria and convince surviving RAF veterans that if they gave themselves up they would be legally prosecuted but not persecuted.

With the identity of the Munich bomber known, Strauss suggested that East Germany had smuggled KGB agents into Hoffmann's group in order to distract attention from leftist terrorism.

But Strauss' man Tandler was quick to conclude that Kohler was no doubt merely a disturbed lad who had bombed the beer festivities all by himself. Hoffmann threatened libel suits against any-

patrolled by numerous German shepherd dogs. In the past six years, an estimated 2,000 men from other European countries and South America have trained there, and secret "Hoffmann clubs" of Heroldsberg graduates reportedly exist in Italy, Britain, Belgium and France. Many of the 18,000 members of West Germany's 83 known neo-Nazi organizations also presumably went to Heroldsberg castle for training before the ban.

At Heroldsberg Castle, one of Hoffmann's "colonels" told a reporter from the French weekly *Vendredi Samedi Dimanche* that the *Wehrsportgruppe*'s aim was to "train an international elite corps ready to take on any military and clandestine operation." The colonel noted with satisfaction that "the fact that we look like a sort of wax works museum of nostalgic madmen has been a good cover." Besides, he added, "lots of high officials and ranking military officers have always helped us."

After being outlawed by Baum, the *Wehrsportgruppe* continued to procure arms, reportedly from the rightist Christian Phalange in Lebanon. Hoffmann seemed to like police more than he feared them. He invited local police officials to his armed parties and claimed to be training his group in order to "help" police on that future day when they would have to fight a "leftist and communist takeover of the state."

In Nurnberg, where the group was founded, Hoffman is believed to enjoy a very high level of protection and financing. After doing its own investigative reporting, the independent socialist daily *Die Neue* reported Feb. 8 that Hoffmann's group was linked to powerful 73-year-old industrialist Karl Diehl, a close friend of Strauss. An internal circular of the "Friends Circle for the Advancement of Hoffmann's Military Sports Group" said the organization had been given a military command structure to prevent it from "rotting from within" through the internal rivalries and conflicts that tear apart so many political groups.

Hoffmann boasts of his friendships with Italian and Spanish neo-fascists—many of whom, notably Italian Social Movement leader Giorgio Almirante,

Continued on page 10





Outraged party conservatives blame party leader James Callaghan for not taking a hard line against the left.

ENGLAND

Democratic reforms pressed at Labour Party conference

By Arthur Lipow

BLACKPOOL, ENGLAND

IN ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC conferences in the British Labour Party's history, the left wing won major victories on two of three constitutional issues. Under the watchword of accountability and party democracy, the mandatory reselection (renomination) of all incumbent members of Parliament and the principle of election of the party leader by some form of representative body—rather than by party members of Parliament, as at present—passed by a narrow margin.

A third left proposal, to empower the

The major issue raised at Blackpool remains unresolved and the fight will rage for many months amid ominous talk of a split in the party.

National Executive Committee (NEC) to write the election manifesto, rather than the party leader or prime minister, as at present, was defeated handily.

Together with these steps to democratize the party, the conference passed a series of motions designed to strengthen the party's organization and finances and to stop the disastrous decline in membership that has left the party at its lowest point in many years. The most important of these was the decision to set up factory or workplace branches alongside the existing constituency parties. Demographic and cultural changes have led to the erosion of the old work-

ing-class communities, undermining the geographically-based party structure. If successful, workplace branches will increase party membership and strengthen its working-class base. They would also make it possible to carry the fight for democratization into the unions, which, in turn, could change the way the union bloc vote is currently used within the Labour Party.

Even more crucial for Labour's future, at least in the short run, was the election of an overwhelmingly left-wing NEC, the body that runs the party between annual conferences. Representing all sections of the party in the country, the NEC has spearheaded the fight to control the right-wing parliamentary Labour Party and the previous Labour government under James Callaghan. But here, too, the narrow and almost accidental circumstances that led to left-wing victory mean that the stage is set for a long battle between left and right that could result in a party split and the formation of a new center party.

On a number of policy issues the left also won important victories. Against the self-described "internationalist" views of the right, led by David Owen, William Rodgers and Shirley Williams, the conference voted overwhelmingly to withdraw Britain from the European Economic Community. This is a popular position among the voters—even many Tories support it. There was also a call for unilateral nuclear disarmament expressed in one of several foreign policy motions passed by the conference, but its impact was diluted by the simultaneous passage of a motion calling for multilateral negotiations. A motion to withdraw British membership in NATO was soundly defeated.

The leadership issue.

The issue that provoked greatest controversy—and that is still unresolved despite the passage of a motion putting the party on record as favoring a change—is the election of the party leader. The con-

ference was unable to agree on either of two constitutional amendments spelling out the details of the electoral college that would select the leader. Failure of these motions left the conference in a state of confusion at the end of the day's proceedings.

A long and acrimonious emergency NEC meeting that night and the next morning produced a proposal that was defeated by the bloc votes of the right-wing trade unions. Their tactic clearly was to play for time, and to hope for a backroom settlement. The only way out of the deadlock was a motion for a special one-item constitutional conference in January at which an effort will be made to resolve the issue.

During the course of the debate over the NEC's unsuccessful resolution, it became obvious that the right-wing dominated parliamentary party, seeing itself stripped of this important power, was considering defying the will of the conference by electing its own leader, perhaps Denis Healey. Only the direct personal intervention of Callaghan quashed this move, at least for the time being.

In an extraordinary speech from the platform, Callaghan made a public pledge to recognize the decision of the conference as binding, and to affirm that any leader who might be elected by the parliamentary party in November (when his term expires) would have to be—in principle—an interim leader. This assurance was quickly seized upon by Eric Heffer, left-wing leader of the NEC, and used to defuse the right-winger's threat.

But for the right it was just another sign of Callaghan's ineffectiveness and willingness to fudge the differences between left and right.

Nevertheless, the "two pope" idea—the election of a party leader different from the leader of the parliamentary party (and so the prime minister)—is still alive for the right and will undoubtedly resurface in the coming weeks. The response to this on the part of the left and

center has been publicly to urge Callaghan to defer any decision to retire in November and to stay on at least until the January conference as interim leader.

Callaghan's decision is not yet known, but it will undoubtedly be motivated by a desire to prevent a split in the party and to prevent power from falling into the hands of the left—particularly to prevent the admittedly remote possibility of the election of Tony Benn, the popular leader of the party left. Should Callaghan decide to retire, it seems clear that the role of interim leader would fall on the willing shoulders of deputy leader Michael Foot.

The fight to come.

In the next several months there will be intensive maneuvering between right and left on the leadership question, particularly within the unions, whose massive bloc vote dominates the Labour Party conferences. The various proposals for an electoral college put forward thus far have the common element of allowing for representation from each section of the party: the parliamentary party, the trade unions, and the constituency parties. The difference between them is the precise weight given to each and the method of voting within the blocs.

The left is by no means united on this question and it is unclear on the relationship of this change to other proposals for democratizing the party such as the election of the cabinet and reforming the operation of the parliamentary party itself, which Tony Benn has proposed. The danger is that the trade unions, particularly the right-dominated ones, will be able to construct a system that even more effectively takes away control over the leader from the party, and that a deal between the trade unions and the parliamentary Labour Party will be cooked up for the special January conference.

The response of the right to these developments has been a howl of rage. Aided by the corporate press, the "gang of three"—as Owen, Rodgers and Williams have been dubbed—have attacked Callaghan for his unwillingness to fight the left and split the party. Their own perspective is clearly one of eventually splitting from the party, though at the conference they drew back from saying this in public and declared that they would stay "to fight" the left-wing takeover. But their conviction that the party is now firmly in the hands of the left—and that the passage of the unilateralist position, withdrawal from EEC, and the various constitutional changes that place power in the hands of the rank-and-file party members, are intolerable developments for the kind of "social democratic" party they desire—leads them out of Labour and toward the creation of a center party modeled on the American Democratic Party.

Shirley Williams is undoubtedly popular with many party members, and even more so with the electorate, largely as a result of a deliberate build-up by the press. But the right's weakness is that rank-and-file members of the party, as well as many members of Parliament (many of whom identify with the center led by Callaghan and Foot) regard the right wing as untrustworthy and even disloyal because of its frequent threats, implied as well as open, to quit the party. But the right wingers' ability to coalesce with the right-wing trade union leaders and parliamentarians reacting with fear and resentment against the upsurge of rank-and-file democracy now sweeping the party, cannot be underestimated. And the ambitions of the various figures who wish to succeed Callaghan on his retirement, mean that the fight over the party's future will be savage. Against the backdrop of massive unemployment, inflation, and a catastrophic decline in British industry, the way in which these issues are resolved will be crucial to the future of the socialist left.

The socialist left may have only a tenuous hold on the Labour Party today, but if it makes headway within the party and the trade unions and offers itself as a viable alternative to the policies of the Tories and the social democratic right, the historic 1980 Blackpool conference undoubtedly will be seen as the starting point in that process.

Arthur Lipow teaches politics at Leeds University.

Benn disputes the media image of left "outsiders"

Anthony Wedgewood Benn, leader of the British Labour left and a former minister of industry, recently spoke with *In These Times* about the current situation within his party.

By Karen Rosenberg

The left group within Britain's Labour Party is presented in the American press as the insurgents and spoilers of the party's traditions. Is this your view?

No. The left represents the majority of Labour and has a long history within the party. We won the 1945 election with a very radical program and with an overwhelming majority and carried through a formidable program of social reform. That ran out of steam in '51. Since '59, when Macmillan won a huge majority, the leadership of the Labour Party (Hugh Gaitskell, Harold Wilson and James Callaghan) have been engaged in attempted waves of revisionism to exclude from our party the essential ingredients that make it a party based on labor, a democratic party and a socialist party. Gaitskell wanted to get rid of the formal commitment to socialism, Wilson want-

'74 was extremely radical and we won two elections. We lose them when we put out mild and rapid resolutions and promises that people cannot differentiate from the view of the Conservative Party.

Do you see an increasing polarization with Labour moving left and the Conservatives moving right?

Yes. Under Mrs. Thatcher the Conservatives have swung sharply to the right and have gone back to the hard men of the '20s. The Churchill-Macmillan tradition, including Anthony Eden and Ted Heath if you like, has been thrown out and British politics are polarizing now between a hard right (perhaps they'd say a traditional conservative view) and a traditional democratic socialist view. The center lives in the columns of the newspapers and in the hopes of the civil service, but it has no roots. Mass support for the center is dead in Britain.

How then do you explain the often expressed fear that if the left is successful in Blackpool, the right of the Labour Party will withdraw and join with the Liberal Party? Is this a real threat?

At no time has the Labour Party split. It's lost a handful sometimes and it may

"When I first campaigned in 1935—at age 10—Labour was calling for nationalization of the banks."

ed to break the links with labour by his legislation against the unions, and now we have this big controversy about whether the party will be more democratic or its power will rest with its parliamentary leadership.

The Wilson years reflected the dominance of this revisionist parliamentary leadership at a time when the British left had lost confidence in itself.

It's quite different today. At heart the British Labour Party is socialist, but it has been prevented from realizing this many times by a succession of parliamentary leaders. But this time round it's going for changes that will allow the position of its active members in the trade unions and the local parties to be reflected in what it says to the public and in Parliament. I think the years of revisionism are over. Looking back on the '50s, '60s and '70s, one is increasingly aware that the British Labour Party was becoming much like the German SPD or the American Democratic Party.

The British media say, "The old Labour tradition is being violated by all these dangerous left-wingers," whereas my view is that the Labour Party always has been a socialist party.

For example, the first election I campaigned in was in 1935, when I was 10. And what was the labour policy then? Nationalization of the banks, a national investment board, the reconstruction of our basic industry. We lost the election, in the middle of a slump. That program reappeared in a slightly modified form in 1945. Since then the parliamentary leadership has swung so far to the right that when a real labour or democratic socialist voice appears, the press says, "Oh, this is some import of foreign extremism." Well, it's not.

Indeed, the recent radicalization in the Labour Party is not among the left, which has always been radical. What's happening is that, as the slump deepens and unemployment rises toward three million, the center and even the center-right—the mainstream of the Labour Party—is now, at long last, asking some fundamental questions. That process will go on, and whatever the outcome of the [Labour Party's annual] conference at Blackpool, it will continue and will to some extent be "coming home again."

After all, we've only won elections with radical programs: '45, '64 was very radical, given the time we were living in,

lose some more. But I don't believe for one instant that the party will split.

If at Blackpool some of the issues go through, the majority of the Labour MPs will accept them because they're so mild compared even to the social democratic parties in Europe. We all watch on our television the choice of an American presidential candidate by a convention and then we're told the idea that the party conference should elect a leader is an extremist, communist idea. The whole thing lacks credibility.

Moreover, the Liberal Party in Britain has historically been a split of the Conservative Party. The Liberals might get a large vote in the next election, but it would represent a split in the right vote. That would only benefit the Labour Party, as it did in '74.

Can you predict who the next leader of the Labour Party might be?

No. We've had only six leaders since the beginning. Unlike the Conservative Party, Labour always leaves its leaders until they wish to retire. So there's no doubt whatever that the present leader of the Labour Party will continue for a while.

What is so pleasing about the Labour Party at the moment is that the arguments are about the issues, not about personalities. There is deep disenchantment with the idea that if only you could pick the right guy you'd solve all the problems. Our observation of the American primaries and election this year reinforces this very deep cynicism about another man on a white horse solving all your problems, from the days of the Kennedy image right through. It isn't like that.

How does your group hope to make the trade unions more responsive to left-wing goals?

Our commission of inquiry recommends that we should start factory branches. Workplace branches will involve active unions in a way that crosses into union boundaries because you might have 15 unions in a plant and they'll find it difficult to work together unless they have joint shop stewards committees. If there's a Labour Party in that branch, that will be a way of expressing trade union activism through the local party.

One criticism often made of the Labour Party program is that there is very little said on how to handle inflation.

What that usually means is that Labour

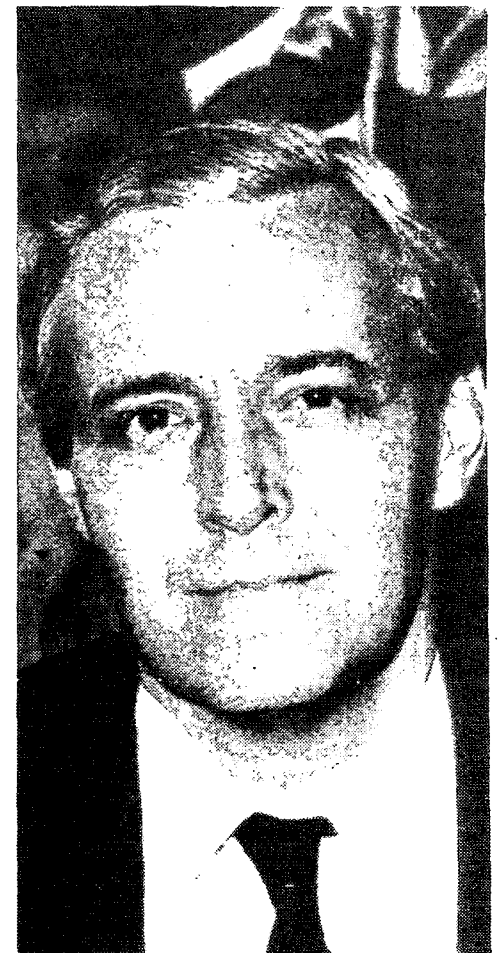
has rejected explicitly the monetarist view: (a) that it's all connected to the money supply and (b) that unemployment has got to be deliberately used in order to beat inflation.

Two years ago the government laid down a 5 percent wage guideline and the Ford workers put in for and won a 17 percent wage claim. That was held to have been inflationary. But actually, Ford could afford 17 percent and the workers were only allowed to negotiate about wages. If they had been able to say, "You've got 17 percent, the utilization of which we're entitled to determine. We want 5 percent in wages, 5 percent in cutting the price of Ford automobiles to boost our markets and 7 percent to get new plant equipment," the thing would have been a much better deal. Inflation is much more likely to be dealt with at the place of work by bargaining on the basis of full disclosure by a trade union movement that has expanded its role into the whole range of company policy, than by some minister in Whitehall, looking at the money supply, laying down what the pay settlement is to be, then using legislation or whatever to try and hold the thing down. That destroys not only the trade union movement but also the initiative of management who can't buy by negotiation a better deal with their workers.

What about the bogeyman of nationalization, which the press is using to scare people about the left wing of the Labour Party?

The technique for public ownership that was adopted after World War II was based on an old municipal, corporate model and we really created state capitalism, not socialism. The management was left to run it itself. There was no change in the relationship to the workers. The criteria of market performance were the same as they might be for private corporations and there's a huge disenchantment with that type of bureaucratic "socialism." A great deal of thinking now is on the socialization of nationalized industries. And [there's] also the idea of much more regional, local cooperative development to try and evolve a wider range of common ownership than we've had.

Tony Benn

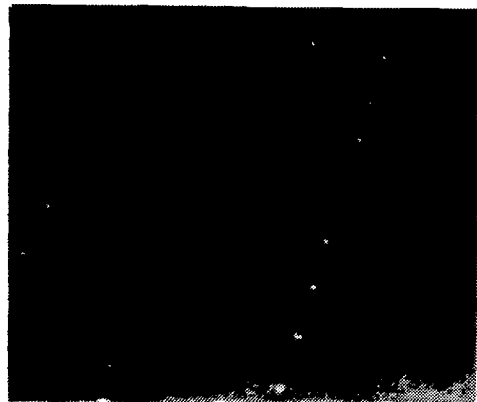


But if you ask me whether you could tackle the underlying problems of our ageing economy in Britain—and maybe America will experience this soon—without a huge, developed sector of public investment, public initiative, public accountability, public ownership—I don't think you can.

I think public investment, common ownership and economic democracy is a better way to put it.

Karen Rosenberg, who teaches at Williams College, interviewed Benn when he attended the college's September convocation to receive an honorary degree.

By Pat Aufderheide



ROSIE THE RIVETER WAS MORE than a song. She was an entire social movement in America's labor history. Here at last is a film that brings that movement back—alive.

The Life and Times of Rosie the Riveter, a 60-minute color documentary, recounts the entry of women into the industrial workforce during WWII, and their forced exit from industry after the war. During WWII, six million women went into the workforce, three million of them in industrial jobs. Sixty-five percent of those came from other jobs. Overnight, training programs sprang up, hearty propaganda films appeared urging women to work and productivity rose.

Contrary to popular imagery, the majority of women who went into these jobs were lifelong workers. What happened to them during the war, and what forced them to return to menial work afterwards, is an experience from which we can learn.

The film vividly communicates their history. It opens by deftly sketching the period—its rhetoric, styles, issues—with posters, film clips and newspaper headlines paced swiftly so that one doesn't have that leaden here-come-the-photos-this-should-be-a-filmstrip feeling of many historical documentaries. Within that context the filmmakers introduce us to five strong women. We learn of their choices, their regrets, their ways of coping with anxiety and hostility. So the history comes to us with all the tension of life still in it.

The women are distinct characters, each of whom impresses us not only with her dignity but with a quiet optimism and an endurance that has not become bitter.

Lola Weixel grew up in a Jewish community in Brooklyn where politics was argued on every streetcorner. She switched from boring assembly work at a novelty factory to welding. Wanita Allen, raised in a black neighborhood in Detroit, escaped domestic work for foundry work. Gladys Belcher, a rural Southern widow, turned in a plow to become a welder in Richmond, Calif., shipyards. Lyn Childs left her family to become the first black woman worker—a burner—in the San Francisco shipyards. Margaret Wright left service work for munitions work in Los Angeles.

Each of them was forced out of a good-paying skilled job after the war ended. And each returned to service or domestic work, or started a family.

Images.

The film is constructed around contrasts between the image and reality of Rosie

the Riveter. The images are provided, in large part, by March of Time newsreels. The myths those newsreels both manufactured and perpetuated look dated stylistically, but their substance is still real and active.

On the newsreel, instead of working for their country, women are shown playing cards in the afternoon. In interview, Gladys describes how she hired out to other farmers after she was widowed and how city war work gave her new hope. On the newsreel an oil announcer assures us that "women are safer at the factory than at home." This is followed by a newspaper clipping: more deaths from industrial accidents than from combat during the period. Margaret describes working without grounded shoes—and watching an accidental death—because employers wouldn't advance workers the money to buy them.

The government announces its spiffy daycare centers. Lyn describes her major regret—that she had to leave her little girl with her mother for what became five years, because she could never find safe arrangements.

"These women," says a cheerful newsreel narrator about actresses jauntily walking out a factory door, "leave work looking like they've been shopping for the day." But Wanita recalls that black women were shut out of the showers at work. Finally one woman pushed the issue and the union enforced mixed showers.

The newsreel announcer interviews an actress playing shopgirl-turned-assembly-line-worker. She chirps, "One boss is easier to please than a bunch of lady shoppers!" Lola, however, describes the

The women in the film (left to right, top to bottom): Wanita Allen, former foundry worker, Detroit; Gladys Belcher, former welder, Richmond, Calif.; Lyn Childs, former burner, San Francisco; Lola Weixel, former welder, Brooklyn; Margaret Wright, former munitions worker, Los Angeles.



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An Interview with the Filmmaker

Connie Field, producer and director of *Rosie the Riveter*, spoke to Pat Aufderheide at the New York Film Festival.

Why did you choose this project?

I came out of a background of political activity in the '60s—anti-war, women's movement, civil rights. The idea for this film came out of a "Rosie the Riveter" reunion, organized by a California group, Jobs for Older Women. They got around 300 women, former "Rosies," together to show you could train and retrain people quickly when you want to. I became interested in the changes in ideology during and after the war, to get women into and out of the workforce. I thought it could teach us a lot.

The film raises issues for all of us. The film is historical, but we still need daycare centers—the issues are comparable today. I'm working on study guides for the film, and I'm consulting with different groups—scholars, CLUW, the National Association of Neighborhood Women and others—to find out how they would like guides for their constituencies.

How did you originally define the issues?

When we started the film, there was no secondary literature. We had to do original research. Now there are several books on the subject of women workers in wartime.

Based on that research we were interested in women who worked before and after the war. We focused on several typical categories: black women doing domestic work, farm women who migrated to cities, women in the service industry. We looked for people in different unions—the Boilermakers, the Machinists, the UAW and UE.

We interviewed more than 700 women all over the country. We placed ads in newspapers, and the response was overwhelming. The first day it took me until 5:00 o'clock to brush my teeth—the phone was ringing off the hook, and I was only taking down phone numbers.

Then we did phone interviews, choosing from among them people we would do longer oral histories with. When we ended the phone interviews, the women always said, "That's all I have to say." Then we would go to their houses and they would talk for hours.

We selected from among those women and did videotapes before we decided who to film. We were looking for people who could touch you, who hadn't become so embittered by their experience that you couldn't sympathize with them on screen. So many good stories didn't work on screen, and that was heartbreaking.

Again and again in our interviews, women told us they were grateful to be asked about their past—that they felt important.

How did the interview material change the film concept?

One major fact we hadn't gotten from preliminary research was that there was not much daycare available. Only six of the final 200 women we did long interviews with had their kids in daycare—or even knew about it. The government had a lot of information about daycare services, so I had originally wanted to stress that to show what was possible if you wanted to provide it. But it really wasn't there.

The other thing we learned from the interviews was about the nature of work. The women talked a lot about the rewards of being able to see the product of your labor at the end of a day, of being paid well, of taking pride in their work.

Are there parallels between the situation for women now and for the Rosies?

I think it's different because there has been a women's movement. But that, too, masks continuing problems. Women earn less than men—they earn 57 percent of what men earn—and that is less than ten years ago, when they were making 59 percent.

But there was in the last decade a con-

scious push, and I think that has made a difference for many women. The issues are clearer.

Did you get support from private foundations interested in women's issues?

The foundations that funded the film were interested in women's issues. But generally private foundations just don't like to fund film. The National Endowment for the Humanities was the key source for us. I did a lot of individual fundraising, too. But at \$500 here and \$1000 there, it takes a long time.

This film took three and a half years to complete, and it cost \$200,000.

What plans do you have for distribution?

One way or another we'll do self-distribution. It's very hard to get theatrical distribution for a documentary, although First Run Features is distributing some, like *The War at Home*. *Rosie* was made to be used by labor unions, women's groups, community groups—wherever it can help people learn.

It's too bad that it's so hard, without good theatrical distribution, to reach people—like all those Rosies out there who would like to see it if they knew about it.

What was your prior filmmaking experience?

I worked in Boston Newsreel, where I learned how not to make films. Most of our films were useful at the time, but most did not have longevity. We don't have the same kind of movement now, to sustain films like that.

Now you need a film that can reach a mass audience. You need technical quality. People watch TV and go to feature movies, and they expect a lot.

This film is different from many other films on the left in another way. Most films on the left are about winning struggles. This was about oppression. So I relied—I had to—on the strength of the women themselves to carry it.

fight to unionize her shop. Her boss was livid because "we were no longer his girls."

As the war ends, the newsreels take on a new tone. Alarmed, they announce that the "economic independence of women" was at the root of the collapse of the family. Children play with matches on screen, while Mom is out stealing a job from a vet. Lola, who left work to raise her family, says, "We had babies. We had a deluge of babies. But we gave up everything for it."

Self-respect.

All this is not depressing. Sobering, certainly. Instructive. Sad, sometimes. But it does not foster your standard-issue, post-'70s gloom and despair. That's partly through the affectionate rapport established between the filmmakers and the women they interviewed. It is also because the experience of going to work in WWII gave these women something no one could take away: a sense of self-respect, a knowledge of what was possible, an education in struggling together. Because the filmmakers went beyond a victory/defeat formula into the women's process of self-knowledge, it communicates that optimism of endurance.

The film, for instance, reveals a lot about work, its meaning, its pleasures. The women discovered a pride in craftsmanship that was already rare among men when the women went to work, and is increasingly rare for all workers today.

Lyn says, about completing a ship and watching the huge structure being launched, "It's a thrill. You've done something worthwhile." Lola recalls how much she loved welding, and describes it as an art. "Welding was special," she says. "I always wanted to make an ornamental gate. Even today, when I pass a beautiful, big gate, I think, 'Was that so much to want?'"

Going to work gave them a special identity, as you can see by Wanita's remembered pleasure in putting her social security card in her wallet. At work they encountered support like they had never known it before. Several women recall the good feeling of working as a team with other women. Several recall the role of the union. "I had some say so," is how Wanita puts it.

Lyn describes an incident that changed her life, when she rescued a Filipino from being beaten up by a crazed vet on board ship. When the Navy officer called her in for a reprimand, her fellow workers all put down their tools and walked in with her. The colonel backed off nervously. "I was always an individualist," says Lyn. "I thought I could handle any problems myself. But I saw that all those people behind me could make a colonel say, 'Hush, just go back to work.'"

How did so much burgeoning awareness get smothered after the war? The film lets us see how. The women were doing double work, at home and on the line. They were fired and not rehired. They were given stern moral lectures about abandoning families.

Grateful.

On the film's debut at the New York Film Festival, Lola Weixel was in the audience. "It means so much to me that the film was made," she said. "It came to me when I was a little down and I thought, 'My God, somebody remembers what we did in the war.'"

"It's touching, and it didn't make any of us anything we weren't. I was afraid it would be—you know, gung ho—and it wasn't. It showed us with all our vulnerabilities."

In that is the film's strength. These women's lives remind us of what is won and what can endure even in hard times. It not only recovers a past, but lets us know some witty, tough women from a barely visible present.

Lola Weixel recognizes the value of a known history. "I'm so grateful it was made," she said, "so my granddaughter can see it. I hope she sees it many times."

She may get her wish. This film is here to stay.

For purchase or rental of the film contact Clarity Educational Prod., P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, N.J. 07417, (201) 891-8240.



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Germany

Continued from page 10

are very cozy with Strauss and other CSU figures.

While apparently uninterested in domestic German fascist paramilitary groups, Strauss and his rich CSU have long shown intense interest in similar groups in more southern climates. Last February, the weekly *Der Spiegel* reported without contradiction that Strauss had financed fascist groups in Spain and Portugal. He has exchanged friendly visits with Turkish, Greek and Italian fascist leaders. In official visits to Chile and Argentina, he publicly praised the military dictatorships' suppression of "communist subversion."

In its January 1980 report on "Political Security in Bavaria," Tandler's ministry dismissed Hoffmann's WSG in 11 lines as a harmless group devoted to renovating castles and private meetings. But under the heading of "extreme leftist activities," 26 lines were devoted to author Bernt Engelmann, who has dug up the most revealing documentation on Strauss' amazing career. Engelmann has remarked that if the Hoffmann *Wehrsportgruppe* has a grand total of only some 400 armed members, Himmler's SS had only 230 members in 1929, four years before it managed to terrorize the whole of Germany. Engelmann has noted that similar "sporting" groups specializing in civil war skills flourished in the Hitler period. He also looked up the statutes of the National Socialist Motor Corps (NSKK), to which the young Franz Strauss admittedly belonged (but only, he has explained, out of an innocent enthusiasm for motorcycling), and found that it was defined as "the [Nazi] Party's motorized force" and that members had to be party members or applicants.

Strauss' checkered past.

Strauss has made so much of his non-Nazi, even anti-Nazi past, that evidence of such relatively unimportant involvement in minor Nazi activities is not taken very seriously. There is general agreement on one thing: in the final weeks of World War II, Strauss was heartily anti-Nazi. As the allies advanced, he deserted military service, shed his soldier's uniform and hid, and began brushing up his excellent English (the young Strauss was a top student in Greek, Latin and English). When the victorious American Army arrived, Strauss was quickly taken on as interpreter. He became the right-hand man of intelligence officer Ernest Hauser, who lorded it over the Schongau region.

From the start, Strauss' political career was based on his talent for dealing with

Americans. Although Hauser was hated in Schongau, Strauss became popular as a man who could intercede on behalf of local people—who knew how to handle the new rulers. His skill in interpreting worked two ways: he could help his German friends get what they wanted out of the Americans, and he could interpret Germany to Americans to suit their prejudices and interests.

Of course, not all Americans are alike. Some occupation officers were idealists, devoted to democracy and serious about the need for de-nazification. Others discovered that "de-nazification" could be the basis of good business relationships. As one of them once explained to me, a "smart" officer realized that only Nazis would pay to have their Nazi past covered up when it came to handing out loans or contracts. Thus it only "paid" to do business with Nazis.

Hauser does not seem to have been one of the idealists. Later, when Strauss was defense minister under Adenauer, Hauser moved to Bonn as representative of Lockheed aircraft. Old friend Strauss was godfather for Hauser's son born there. Better still, the West German defense ministry ordered 700 of Lockheed's famous F-104 ("flying coffin") Starfighter, of which 209 had crashed by the end of last year, killing 92 German pilots. In the course of the congressional investigation of the Lockheed bribery scandal, the ungrateful Hauser accused Strauss and the CSU of receiving some of the millions Lockheed distributed among allied clients. But unlike politicians in Japan, Italy and other countries whose careers were ruined by the scandal, Strauss called Hauser a crook and an instrument of an obscure communist plot, and continued his political career.

That is only one of the corruption flaps that Strauss has survived. There have been abuse-of-power scandals, such as his years-long effort to ruin a simple traffic cop who gave him a ticket for running a red light in Bonn, or his arrest of editors of the weekly *Der Spiegel* for printing stories that displeased him. He covers his almost incredibly unsavory past with a demagogic verbal smokescreen of anti-communism—lumping together his critics, liberals, social democrats, radicals, terrorists and KGB agents—and folksy Bavarian kitsch.

The love of arms.

From the start of his ministerial career in Bonn in the '50s, Strauss has had two enthusiasms: atomic power and weapons—including atomic weapons. He has always aspired to make West Germany a nuclear power, and he talks openly of sending West German forces (contrary to existing law) outside the NATO area, to intervene in the Middle East or even in southern Africa. He promises more military spending and more police op-

pression.

But from some American press reports (notably John Vinocur in the *New York Times*), it would seem that only sheer perversity moves the West German left to oppose the colorful Bavarian. In an article in the *Times*, CSU delegate to the European Parliament Otto von Hapsburg, of the imperial family, compared Strauss to Churchill and explained leftist opposition like this: "His popular origin offends the sensibilities of the highly snobbish leftist intelligentsia." (The son of a prosperous Munich butcher who sent him to the best schools, Strauss in fact likes to exaggerate his own "humble origins" for demagogic purposes.)

It seems that many Americans—not only occupation officers and businessmen, but some journalists as well—are far more comfortable with the boozing, whoring, swearing, wheeling and dealing type of German who "speaks their language" and hates communists, than with someone like Helmut Schmidt, who is certainly no radical but who seems to have something inaccessible about him (thoughts, perhaps).

In Third World countries, American preference for the far right is often explained by the absence of a (supposedly more congenial) middle-of-the-road political force. In West Germany, however, Social Democrats like Schmidt represent a solid middle of the road, yet most Americans dealing with Germany have never liked them much. The SPD was not, after all, an American creation (as the Christian Democrats were) and German Social Democrats, for all their moderation, are part of a political tradition that tends to baffle American military and business figures.

Strauss knows his Americans well enough to realize that to most of them, the only sure distinguishing mark of a Nazi is anti-Semitism. Strauss always praises Israel and denounces anti-Semitism, so obviously (to Americans) he has nothing in common with Nazis.

Germans don't see it that way, and Strauss momentarily accomplished the unique feat of bringing together the fragmented West German left in a campaign to "stop Strauss." But that very unity frightened SPD leaders, who shied away from anti-Strauss demonstrations bringing together their own people with Communists, Greens, and the whole mixed bag of radicals who believe that Schmidt is the best chancellor German capitalism could have just now, but who planned to vote for him out of fear of Strauss. SPD leaders feared this would all play into the hands of Strauss' efforts to identify the SPD with leftist terrorists and Soviet agents.

For weeks, Strauss and a CSU propaganda film denounced the "stop Strauss" movement as the work of an insidious communist-led "Popular Front" (*Volks-*

front) party. Nobody on the left ever heard of this *Volksfront*, which nevertheless suddenly blossomed into existence literally overnight: in one night, West Germany was covered with 70,000 beautiful big *Volksfront* posters, with the news that a "vote against Strauss was a vote for the Popular Front." Nobody on the known left is acquainted with any of the estimated thousand people it took to put up those posters. A heap of them were found in the office of a CSU affiliate which had printed stickers falsely attributed to the Young Socialists, saying, "Better the Russians in Heilbron than Strauss in Bonn."

Germans—especially fellow Bavarians—who go for Strauss' authoritarian rhetoric pay no attention to revelations of such dirty tricks. Throughout the campaign, Strauss proved able to draw larger and more enthusiastic crowds than any other political figure in the country. His bid for power may have been premature, but if an when the economic crisis finally hits West Germany, Franz Josef Strauss could be a very dangerous man. ■

Economy

Continued from page 2

situation in terms of "recession," University of Massachusetts economist Leonard Rapping suggests. That implies some economic order and control by policy-makers instead of "a system that's in the throes of major change. It's a chaotic situation. I don't think you can apply an orderly analysis to it." The real issue, he says, is restructuring the economy, especially away from dependence on oil. But with each recession, he argues, the government and the corporate ruling class seem to slip more out of control and veer toward a possible panic.

To make capitalism work under these conditions, Weisskopf argues, "there would have to be some form of incomes policy, wage-price controls and some government control over investment funds. ...The key is to get away from aggregate instruments—money supply, budget—and instead apply selective policies."

The U.S. now confronts more than a sharp recession and changing business cycle. It suffers from a generally rickety, vulnerable economy in an unstable world, ruled by a capitalist class and political leaders who are unable and unwilling to take the steps needed to construct a viable economy but are insistent that they at least suffer no diminution of wealth and power. The day of reckoning can be postponed, but not forever. "I think the question," Rapping says, "is how democratic the decisions will be when we face the darkness." ■

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Liberation or Revolution?
recent NOAR publication

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We believe that eventually we will have to take power away from the capitalists, who, in their determination to increase profits, are destroying our right and responsibility to govern ourselves. At this point, however, our main task is to create a movement in the hearts and minds of the American people—so that we can stop seeing ourselves as victims and start exercising the power within us to control our own destiny.

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LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

NASTY UNION

THE ARTICLE "CASH SUPPORT FROM American unions" (*ITT*, Sept. 10) ignores the \$10,000 contribution of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) to the new Polish unions.

How strange this newly found "proletarian internationalism" on the part of this notoriously anti-worker, pro-capital union.

It is common knowledge that the ILGWU leadership continuously strives for lower wages, poor working conditions and trips over itself in providing asinine excuses for the economic "woes" of the ruling class.

Strange support for workers' rule when this union's officers at one of its locals threaten to call the police to empty a union hall of dues-paying members because they "date" peacefully to request information about their interminable contract negotiations!

—C. Bento Duarte
Elizabeth, N.J.

NEAT TRICK

I MUST CONFESS I WAS STARTLED TO read ("In Short," *ITT*, Sept. 24) that "the once unpolluted waters [off Guam] are already infested with Trident submarines."

As a shipfitter constructing the lead Trident—the *Ohio*—at General Dynamics Electric Boat Division in Groton, Conn. (Tridents' sole contractor), I can say with certainty that the first Trident, whose commissioning has been postponed three times and has a \$300 million cost-overrun tab (and rising rapidly), is unlikely even to begin sea trials for another six months.

But while the *Ohio* and future Tridents (eight contracts have been authorized) have yet to perform their terrorizing function at sea, radiation contamination began years ago among Trident workers. Environmentalists and anti-nuclear weapons activists should be aware that the greatest contamination occurs at the point of production, among workers who are human guinea pigs. Incredibly enough, according to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, workers in nuclear installations are classified "not members of the public."

Radiation is only one of many hazards posed in nuclear shipyard workers. Of the approximately 100,000 workers exposed to asbestos at Electric Boat since WWII, as many as 50,000 may die of lung cancer within the next few decades, according to a 1978 gov-

ernment report. The industry hid evidence of this danger for more than half a century.

Recently, Electric Boat trade unionists began an in-house labor reform movement—Electric Boat Trade Unionists for Democratic Action (TUDA)—to fight back against occupational exploitation and Uncle Tom unionism at Electric Boat and other nuclear/defense installations. Our goals include labor reform, job security and occupational safety and health. We support conversion to socially useful, environmentally safe production, a reversal of the arms race, safe energy, full-employment and affirmative action.

For a copy of our first newsletter on what we're doing at General Dynamics Electric Boat Division, send a self-addressed envelope to TUDA, Box 294, Boro Station, Groton, CT 06340.

—Peter Fisher
TUDA Coordinator
Groton, Conn.



A postcard from one of our readers. If you see any others, please send them to Postcard Chairman, c/o In These Times.

NONE SO BLIND

DESPITE MY ALLEGIANCE TO *ITT* FOR analysis outside the usual partisan biases, I am spurred to quiet fury by your perspective on the Palestinian question.

Though Jewish, I am no Zionist, and along with you condemn Israeli tyranny in abridging (and sometimes trampling) the rights of Palestinians within Israel's hegemony. However, I am incensed by your persistent depiction of the Palestinian problem as one of Is-

raeli persecution vs. Arab oppression. The Arabs are an equal partner in the story of malign neglect of Palestinian rights, going back to the land grabs of the 1940s when Egypt seized Gaza and Jordan occupied what we now call the West Bank, without even a UN sanction and with no regard for the national aspirations of the Palestinian people.

At no time have surrounding Arab countries made offers to help establish Palestinian self-government in areas they controlled, until after Israel occupied those areas. (In fact, the PLO was even attacked for its agitation within those Arab countries.) These countries have only extended military support for the conquest of Israel, and then clearly more for their own benefit than out of concern for Palestinians.

If there is to be an equitable solution to Mid-East puzzles, it seems to me to depend on the still-withheld declaration of Israel's right to existence by its northern and eastern Arab neighbors, and by the creation of a Palestinian state carved out of Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan—with borders, yes, artificial and arbitrary, but no more so than those of the aforementioned states, all of which were concocted after WWI.

Until *ITT* begins to speak about the equal responsibilities of the Arab states to the Palestinians, your ceaseless attacks on Israel have an asymmetrical—if not dogmatically "party-line"—cast to them. Israelis remain an embattled people—over 50 percent of them are "oriental Jews," mostly refugees from oppressive Middle Eastern regimes. The nation is economically devastated, with an inflation rate well over 100 percent in large part due to military necessities, surrounded as it is by countries whose people have been steeped in vengeful propaganda against it. It also remains (aside from its pernicious, but pragmatic foreign alliances with the likes of South Africa) the home of some of the most thoroughgoing socialist institutions in the world. It is unbefitting for an "independent socialist journal" to be so blindly one-sided in its coverage.

—Richard Stone
Fresno, Calif.

STREET MURALS

THANKS FOR THE COVERAGE OF THE recent Chicago anti-war mural ("Return of the mural," *ITT*, Sept. 17). We don't want to quibble, but would like to clarify a few facts.

The mural was organized and sponsored by the Midwest region of the National Murals Network—an association of community muralists active in some 20 states (P.O. Box 40383, San Francisco, CA 94140).

Artists from the Chicago Mural Group and Casa Aztlan, a neighborhood cultural association, did participate, along with others—some two dozen in all. More than 100 supporters attended a celebration at the site on Labor Day. The last sections are now complete. The artists are already discussing another joint project for next year.

Concerning the headline, we want to emphasize that none of the participating artists had ever left off work in their neighborhoods. The mural movement is alive and better than ever in Chicago.

—Celia Radek
—John Pitman-Weber
Chicago

STUDENTS AND LABOR

DAVID MOBERG'S "CRACKING CAMPUS Cynicism" (*ITT*, Sept. 24) missed a significant interaction between the student and labor movements in the past decade. Believing that students are "quite ignorant of unions and not terribly sympathetic," he cites only Cornell and the University of Michigan as exceptions. He does not mention the union activity among teaching assistants at such places as the University of Oregon, University of Florida, University of California at Berkeley, most major Canadian universities, and particularly

the University of Wisconsin at Madison.

Although student activism has not been as widespread as it was in the '60s, the Teaching Assistants' Association (AFT Local 3220) has survived and prospered. We are a union of graduate students who work as teaching, research and project assistants. The TAA is, to some extent, an outgrowth of the Madison anti-war movement, yet it remained a force for quality education on the campus in the '70s.

During a five-week strike by the TAA last spring, several hundred undergraduates occupied buildings in support of the union and many others honored our picket lines and boycotted classes. As you noted last May in *ITT*, the TAA strike probably politicized more undergraduates on the Madison campus than any other issue in years, including the recent anti-draft and anti-nuclear movements.

The TAA is now facing a bitter union-busting campaign by the U.W.-Madison administration.

—Penny Schantz
Co-President, Teaching Assistants' Association, AFT Local 3220
Madison, Wisc.

CORRECTION

The "Intergalactic Telegram" published last week should have been attributed to Paul Buhle.

Richard Barnett in *THE LEAN YEARS* analyzes the crucial issues we face in the immediate future—

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WEST NEW YORK, N.J., SEPT. 9—A woman who spent almost nine years in Cuban prisons, convicted of being a spy for the United States, recalled today that her espionage role was uncovered when she went to a park in Havana to dig up some buried papers to transmit to the Central Intelligence Agency.

"I went there and the place was like a beehive," Carmen Mackowski said in Spanish at a news conference here. "There were members of the secret police all over the place...."

She is now suing the United States government for more than \$1 million, charging that her training for her espionage assignment was inadequate....

New York Times, Sept. 10, 1980

The training she got was awful
It led to embarrassing pratfall
Nine years in the clink
(She's raising a stink)
Do you think: "She's really got some gall!"?

Then consider our President Jimmy
(First he fox trot and then he just shimmy)
Puts his hands in his shoes
And his head just unglues!
He surely should sue
But who? Amy?

—Tuli Kupferberg

Backlash

Continued from page 3

liberal than the state, I'd win by a landslide out here, because we've got the best constituency services of anybody. I also don't see how anybody can argue or contest the fact that I'm probably the strongest and most consistent voice for agriculture in the Congress. But then I do things like taking the lead on the SALT treaty, the arms race, normalizing relations with China, Cuba and Vietnam, and ending the war there. These are all things perceived as being out of step with majority opinion, and they probably are.

There has also been talk recently about liberalism itself being outdated. Do you believe this?

I don't think liberalism is out. I still think it's the mainstream of American politics, and it's the only way you can deal with the problems before this country. We can't resolve the energy crisis in this country without a strong role by the federal government. We can't restore the railroads by the government entirely backing off and dumping it in the hands of free enterprise.

We can't deal with the problem of environmental contamination, and we certainly can't deal with the arms race in an orthodox traditional way. It's got to be a global solution, and that is one of the functions of liberalism—to get people thinking internationally, to get them to think in terms of a strong and positive role by the federal government. We can let these problems fester, or we can finally recognize there has to be a strong, dynamic liberal role by government. ■

George

Continued from page 3

talism into politics has offended many erstwhile conservatives. "I don't want to be associated with the New Right," Republican state representative Debra Anderson, a prominent McGovern foe, explained. "I just hate that Moral Majority kind of thing."

One small businessman who was planning to vote for Abdnor was even more disgusted. "If I hear any more from them," he said of the NCPAC and LAPAC ads, "I might decide to vote for McGovern."

The backlash against the New Right was borne out by a poll conducted by political scientist James Meader of the Augustana Research Institute. On the basis of more than 400 interviews last summer with Sioux Falls voters, Meader

found that 15.5 percent were "very concerned" and 45 percent were "somewhat concerned" about "outside interests influencing South Dakota politics." Meader also found that abortion was not among the important issues cited by voters and that 20 percent of McGovern's supporters believed that abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.

NCPAC and LAPAC have shown that they are aware of the backlash. On Oct. 2, Wick announced that NCPAC was withdrawing from the Senate race. While he claimed to be doing so because Abdnor was way ahead, he admitted that he wanted to "take an issue away from McGovern." Likewise, LAPAC also announced that it would be keeping a low profile during the election.

A conservative state.

The New Right's partial withdrawal leaves McGovern still facing a constituency that is considerably more conservative than he is. Unlike North Dakota, South Dakota was never a haven for populists, socialists or even progressives. It was entirely dominated by free-market, anti-Communist Republicans until McGovern during the mid-'50s single-handedly revived the Democratic Party.

Its ranchers and wheat farmers in the west are largely Reagan Republicans. The corn and soybean farmers in the east tend to be moderate Republicans and conservative Democrats.

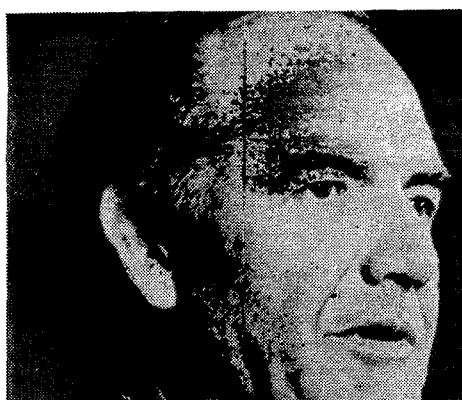
The only consistently loyal Democrats are the Indians, who usually don't vote and who are studiously ignored by Democrat and Republican alike (fearing a racist backlash against their candidacies for the slightest indication of sympathy). Catholic farmers in the east (whose allegiance is being tested by LAPAC) and a small embattled labor movement in Sioux Falls. As the United Food and Commercial Workers' Jim Jarman explained, labor is afraid to give McGovern strong public backing. "In this state, you don't want to do that too loud," Jarman said.

By South Dakota standards, McGovern is a freak. Raised on the Social Gospel by his Methodist minister father, he was heavily influenced by Christian Socialists. In 1948, while a graduate student in history at Northwestern University, he strongly backed Henry Wallace. He subsequently opposed the Korean war and was an early advocate of American recognition of China.

Except for the 1968 Senate race, McGovern has been the underdog in every election he has run in since 1956. His victories were the result of superior organization and dedicated constituency services rather than ideology.

"McGovern out-organizes his opponent every time," one Republican consultant said. "You never meet a person who votes for him, but he still wins every time."

In 1980, however, McGovern can ex-



sult, they have taken the Reagan campaign strategy a step further. Abdnor doesn't merely avoid press conferences, he hardly ever gives speeches. His press secretary, Mike Freeman, explained, "He's much better at shaking hands than on the podium."

Abdnor's campaign has, however, been plagued by mistakes. Abdnor has rejected McGovern's proposals to debate, but his staff failed to brief Gerald Ford when he came to campaign on Abdnor's behalf. As a result, Ford told a reporter that he favored debates.

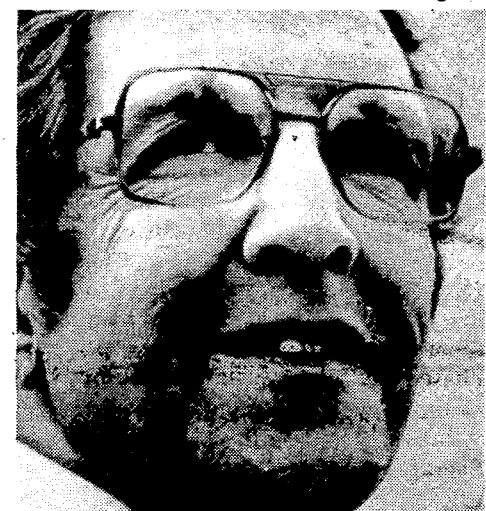
Last month, Abdnor was also caught having not reported \$36,000 in campaign contributions. Most of these came from oil company political action committees.

Defending liberalism.

McGovern's campaign has emphasized farm issues and McGovern's power as second-ranking member of the Senate Agricultural Committee. Besides price supports, McGovern has advocated the creation of an OWEC—an Organization of Wheat Exporting Countries—through which the U.S., Canada and Australia would stabilize world wheat prices.

McGovern has also tried to deflect charges that he is soft on defense by stressing "readiness." A little-noticed amendment to the recent chemical warfare legislation also mandated a new dining room for Rapid City's Ellsworth Air Force Base—courtesy of McGovern. In addition, McGovern brought Sen. Henry Jackson into the state to testify that in spite of their differences on some defense issues, they have "compatible goals."

But contrary to some press reports, McGovern has not abandoned his gen-



Incompetent opponent.

But McGovern could still pull it out. In the last six months, he has narrowed the gap considerably, from about 15 to 5 percent. One asset is his opponent, whose only legislative accomplishment in eight years in Congress has been the creation of Bicycle Safety Week. Abdnor is a dogmatic conservative with little grasp of domestic or international issues.

In an interview with Abdnor—won only through iron determination—Abdnor said his main disagreement with SALT II was the lack of on-site inspection. "I'd like to go in and inspect it, so I know," Abdnor said. "I don't know what kind of sensitive equipment we have, but I know we can put it where it's necessary to really know what is going on."

But asked whether he would favor Soviet inspection of American military facilities—a proposal that has been and would be rejected by the Joint Chiefs of Staff—Abdnor became rattled and began mumbling about not being able to trust the Russians.

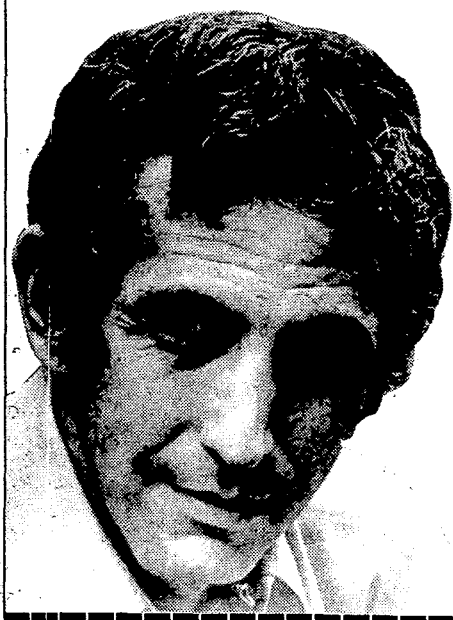
Abdnor was equally at sea explaining how he would dismantle government regulations. Asked about whether he would revoke the Clean Air Act, he said, "You're damn right I'd take a good look at that. Carter proposed a lot of that. I opposed it at the time, because it says your air can't deteriorate one particle. Even when we are in South Dakota with all this clean air. I go by Gary, Ind., and I can't see the block. Gary, Ind., can keep going on right as they're going. We in South Dakota can't lift a finger."

The Clean Air Act of 1970, which was amended in 1977, contains no provision such as Abdnor describes. Abdnor was not even present when five of the six 1977 amendments were voted on.

Abdnor and his staff seem painfully aware of his own limitations. As a re-

eral outlook. He has not recanted his opposition to the B-1 bomber, nor his identity as a "liberal." In a current McGovern commercial, he gives a spirited defense of "active government." And in an Oct. 3 speech to the Western States Water and Power Conference, McGovern even used farm issues as a springboard to argue for a full-employment economy, school lunch programs, an emphasis on economic rather than military aid to foreign countries (using the example of Iran), and the necessity for adopting SALT II and dumping the MX.

McGovern's chances for re-election in November will not, however, rest on his being able to convince South Dakotans of the merit of SALT II. As his opponent and NCPAC understand, they will have to vote for him in spite of that. This is a sad and difficult situation for a man like McGovern to be in. ■



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Daniel Ellsberg

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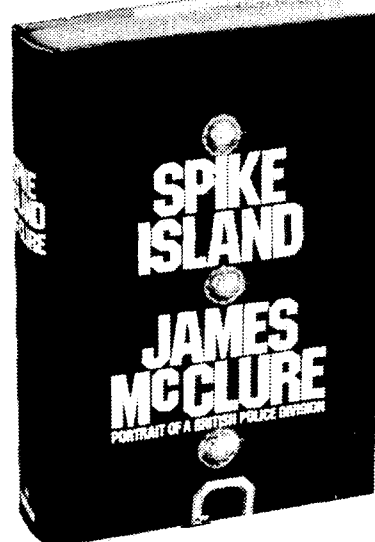
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

RELIGION

Krishnas disrupted by police gun raid

By George Thurlow

BOB KARY, GERMAN-BORN AND U.S. naturalized, was a struggling photographer until he found the way of Krishna through the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON).

In 1968, at 26, he donned saffron robes and travelled throughout the world. By 1980, Kary, now called Srila Hansadutta Swami Maharaja, had become one of the 11 ruling "gurus" of the world ISKCON organization, with religious control from the San Francisco bay area to Seattle and across the Pacific to Southeast Asia.

That world is now in ruins for Hansadutta.

When Berkeley police raided a ranch in Lake County, Calif., owned by Krishnas in the "zone" governed by Hansadutta, they found, among the incense sticks and prayer books, a grenade launcher, 17 rifles and shotguns, ammunition clips and a case of spare cartridges.

That was in March.

In May, Berkeley police, checking Hansadutta's Mercedes parked near the Krishna "dormitory," noticed it had license plates for another vehicle. A search of the car turned up an illegal sub-machine gun and several other weapons, including a .45 pistol that had been purchased Oct. 4, 1979, in Oakland by Hansadutta.

A third police raid June 19 in Sacramento left the religious organization looking more and more like a paramilitary force. Acting on information provided by Berkeley police, Sacramento County sheriff's detectives raided a U-rent storage shed on the outskirts of Sacramento and seized four rifles, four shotguns, 400 rounds of ammunition and ammo reloading equipment. The shed was rented by a Krishna devotee connected with the Lake County Krishna ranch.

The incidents have thrown the Krishna organization into near panic. On top of the raids and weapons seizures, the *Sacramento Bee* unleashed a three-reporter team on the Krishna organization. They charged that the religious group has members who are involved in drug deals, who use fraud to obtain donations and who have stockpiled weapons in anticipation of a "holocaust."

Like many sects in America today, ISKCON was born in the protracted cultural labor of the late '60s and early '70s.

An Indian businessman, A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, landed in New York in 1965 with a religious mission. Operating out of a storefront in Greenwich Village, Prabhupada began gathering converts to his religious philosophy.

The central theme of ISKCON, as established by Prabhupada, is bhakti yoga, or the chanting of the Hare Krishna mantra. The chanting is a means of receiving the "pure consciousness" of God and dispelling the "maya" or illusion in which the world lives.

Krishna followers soon became familiar sights. As other sects died, the Krishna faith persisted. It now has 28 temples and seven farms scattered across the U.S. It has a child-rearing "boarding school" in Dallas and a huge "spiritual theme park" in Marshall County, West Virginia. The world church recently spent \$2 million to build a grand spiritual palace in the suburbs of Bombay.

Depending on who you talk to, the Krishna organization in the U.S. has assets of \$50 million and income at each

temple of up to \$1 million a year.

Sources of ISKCON income are varied and largely secret. Followers use a variety of tactics, some labelled fraudulent, to solicit money.

When solicitation got out of hand at Los Angeles International Airport, a judge in that city signed a temporary restraining order requiring ISKCON solicitors to properly identify themselves, refrain from blocking passage of airport users, and absolutely not touch anyone they pump for money.

That restraining order, court records show, indicated ISKCON followers had identified their solicitation as benefitting rape victims, needy children, Christian Scientists, the Catholic Relief Mission, muscular dystrophy and drug addicts.

Not all the ISKCON money comes from streetcorner and public panhandling.

According to public records and published reports, in California the group owns four square blocks of Culver City, most of two blocks of Berkeley, a button factory, a recording studio, a travel agency, and at least 1,100 acres of farmland. Incense alone, marketed under the Spiritual Sky trademark, was making \$1 million a year in profit, according to Los Angeles court records.

The button factory, known as Pin Up The World, turned out everything from Oriole buttons for the 1979 World Series, to Pope buttons for the Papal visit, to marijuana legalization buttons, earning \$4 million between 1973 and 1976.

ISKCON devotees purchased a 400 acre farm in Lake County for more than \$300,000 and a Tulare County farm of 374 acres for \$800,000.

One of the strongest prohibitions in ISKCON concerns the use of drugs, including cigarettes, alcohol and the chemicals of pleasure. But ISKCON devotees have become entangled in a number of drug seizures and busts.

ISKCON followers in 1976 founded a



firm called Prasadam Distributing International in Southern California, which laundered the drug profits. Court records show Prasadam became involved in cocaine dealing, drug murders and ultimately the arrest of a co-founder with \$1 million in heroin.

The bad press on ISKCON in California began when William Benedict, a businessman instrumental in founding various tax-exempt corporations for ISKCON, discovered someone had stolen his briefcase in Berkeley. It contained credit cards and checks.

Police quickly learned \$11,000 in guns, cloth, horse saddles, cameras, tiles and sewing machines had been purchased with the stolen credit cards. Benedict, on a pilgrimage to the Lake County farm and temple named Mt. Kailasa, noticed some cloth and tile that matched the description of the purchased items.

Armed with a search warrant, Berkeley police and Lake County sheriff's deputies raided the farm on March 4. They uncovered the grenade launcher, 17 rifles and shotguns and a load of ammunition. No stolen guns or goods were found.

The day after the raid, however, a Berkeley temple devotee turned over to police seven of nine guns purchased with

the credit cards. Another Berkeley devotee was responsible for renting the Sacramento storage shed, which also contained rifles and shotguns.

The guns were accumulated because Hansadutta had prophesied that a "holocaust" was coming and the guns were needed to protect the devotees, one former devotee told the *Sacramento Bee*. Hansadutta denied the allegations. But it was too late. The 23-member governing board of ISKCON removed him as a guru.

The leaders of the Krishna movement have not been happy with media coverage of their devotees' miscues.

Srila Ramesvara Swami, one of the 11 ruling spiritual masters, told reporters, "...You've painted this hysterical picture that we are violent. This is all so misrepresentative. It's not in-depth reporting. It's just inflammatory.

But Hansadutta, now deposed as a guru, told another reporter after the Lake County raid, "It's insane to think that we have some violent plan. But we are not fools. We do not agree with the idea of turning the other cheek.... The right to bear arms is part of the American way of life."

George Thurlow is a Sacramento journalist.

MEDIA

Women's video plays back the night

By Sheryl Larson

One local group of women decided last year to offer an alternative account of a women-sponsored event. Their subject was Minneapolis' first "Take Back the Night" march held in August 1979. Iris Video, a six-member collective of independent women video-makers, began taping almost two months before the march was staged. In addition to taping the actual march, the collective wanted to document the political-organizing process.

When about 8,000 women, men and children marched through downtown

Minneapolis' main drag on Aug. 9 to "Take Back the Night" and bring attention to violence against women, the *Minneapolis Tribune's* coverage amounted to a buried and blurry photo of the marchers with a short, condescending caption.

Taping completed, Iris Video waded through eight hours of tapes, compacting the information into a 30-minute documentary. The collective sought critiques of the tape's content from the march organizers and participants.

After spending over a thousand hours and almost 11 months editing the documentary, Iris Video has produced a valuable how-to tape, said member Kathy Seltzer, who recently showed the tape to

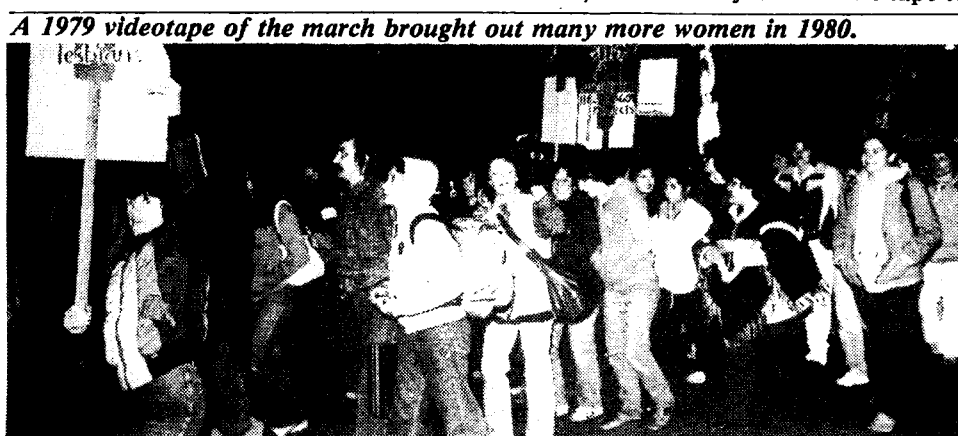
several women's groups in Europe: "We tried to show all of the work that goes into an event of this sort. The tape is intended to educate. By showing what the outcome can be like, it can be used to rally people for a march."

The documentary—called "Women Take Back the Night"—was shown in July on the local public TV station. As a testimony to its impact, many women who participated in this year's "Take Back the Night" march said they attended because they saw the Iris tape about the 1979 march.

Iris Video's quality control has not gone unnoticed. In June the documentary won the "Hometown USA" award from the National Federation of Local Cable Programmers in the women-and-minorities category. Because of this recognition, the tape will probably appear on cable access channels across the country in coming months. Now the collective hopes to produce a weekly women's show once cable television finally comes to the Twin Cities.

For more information, write Iris Video, P.O. Box 7133, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, MN 55407, phone (612) 376-3333.

Sheryl Larson is the arts editor for the *Minnesota Daily* in Minneapolis.



A 1979 videotape of the march brought out many more women in 1980.



By Lee Baxandall

The Sept. 30 telecast of Arthur Miller's *Playing for Time* was a milestone in TV entertainment. The three-hour drama portrayed the most awful killing machine in history and did so with immediacy, subtlety and empathy. Viewers watched a barracks of Jewish women, sent to Auschwitz extermination camp, offer musical concerts to Nazi keepers.

"It was almost too awful to watch," said one viewer, but most did, as Vanessa Redgrave delivered what Jack Kroll of *Newsweek* said "may well be the finest performance ever given on a TV screen." The show drew the highest share of viewers in major cities, as well as generating hundreds of protest calls. Hiring Redgrave was a brave decision by CBS, since her support for the Palestine Liberation Organization is well-known. The Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holocaust Studies of Los Angeles, for example, urged a nationwide "switch-off" of *Playing for Time*. Many advertisers were coerced out of buying spots.

Miller, Redgrave and an outstanding cast have opened the TV screen to a serious treatment of moral choice in our time. As the character played by Vanessa Redgrave magnificently makes clear, the capacity to assist in murder in those circumstances lies in all who have a will to survive. Fania Fenelon, a French cabaret singer who wrote an Auschwitz diary upon which Miller's script is based, is the character played by Redgrave.

Fania sees quickly that she will die if she does not accept a place in the women's orchestra. We watch her degradation. She accepts a sausage offered by a fellow inmate who prostitutes herself to a Nazi guard. She agrees to smile and entertain the infamous Dr. Mengele, and does not collapse even when he assures her, "Music is a consolation that feeds our spirit. It strengthens us for this difficult work of ours." Fania as played by Redgrave is a humanist without self-righteousness, a survivor who accepts the compromises she commits with murderers.

Victims.

Fania is the best of Miller's long series of victims as heroes. But there is a price: The story of the heroine as resistance fighter is suppressed. The Fania Fenelon of real life was in the French Resistance, but the script contains only the vaguest allusion to this fact.

Two "ideological" women are



TELEVISION

Playing for time, or the measures not taken

presented, able to cope and survive because they have a scornful, intolerant faith: one in Zionism, the other in revolution. "I must keep myself alive for Palestine!" shrills the Zionist, answered all too curtly by, "Well, I shall live to see a communist

Europe." That is the first and last we hear from the communist.

The one scene in which her name is even mentioned is one woman's confession to Fania that she is in love with this idealist, after which she creeps in

bed to embrace the sleeping communist. This one scene only serves to confuse the status of a communist commitment without clarifying the loves that are formed within barracks.

The Zionist is by comparison frequently evoked. She becomes

the foil of Fania's capacity to find the humanity in every monster, a skill that enables her to save herself and the group. "You are the woman without an ideology," Fania is told. Redgrave, playing Fania, smiles enigmatically.

In *Playing for Time*, Miller gives us no secular vision of a world without Auschwitz. Since the U.S. lacks a strong labor left and significant socialist or communist parties, possibly Miller saw no referent meaningful to viewers. Perhaps reference to European political forces would be misunderstood here. Or would it? Is that caution self-fulfilling?

In any event, Arthur Miller is not the author to pose an argument against Fania's passive humanism. Before McCarthyism Miller hung around the New York left theater and even wrote some agitprop plays, which lie unpublished and unmentioned in his trunk. Miller is the honorable liberal who will accept his lumps and his guilt under any social system.

Compare *Playing for Time* with Brecht's *The Measures Taken*. Each play brilliantly evokes a humanist position and eschews self-righteousness. Both playwrights accept the personal guilt of surviving in a world of corruption and misery where to endure is to compete with guile. Fania/Miller knows this bitter truth as she finally accepts responsibility for the survival of the orchestra. Brecht's Chorus in *The Measures Taken* states a parallel but very different bitter truth: "Sink down in the slime, embrace the butcher. If you could change this world, what would you not be willing to do?"

Miller's guilt is passive and despondent while Brecht's is active and struggling. Brecht's theme is humanistic social revolution, not simply survival of the individual human. To take a struggling role requires "dirty hands," in Sartre's phrase.

To insist on these questions may seem gratuitous faced with the accomplishment of *Playing for Time*. Yet the greater the impact and influence of a work, the more it must be seen in its social framework and its limitations. We are indebted to producer Linda Yellen, to cameraman Arthur Ornitz and director Daniel Mann for carrying this monument of indictment and compassion to the homes of the world. Yet the chance of resistance and of struggle is not to be forgotten in our acclaim. ■

Lee Baxandall is the author of *Radical Perspectives in the Arts and Marxism and Aesthetics: A Bibliography*.

CALENDAR

NEW YORK, NY

October-November-December

The fall semester of the SCHOOL FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM includes classes on The Family, NYC Politics, Making of the American Working Class, History of the American Socialist Party and more by Herbert Guttman, Ron Radosh, Ruth Messinger, Kate Ellis, Stanley Aronowitz, Joe Conason and others. Classes limited, so call or write today for details. School, 125 W. 72nd St., New York, NY 10023, (212) 787-1691.

October 23

DRAFT TEACH-IN AT QUEENS COLLEGE, Student Union, 4th fl. Broadcast live on WBAI, 99.5 FM. 12:00 noon: Dave Dellinger, Michael Harrington, Diane Lacy, Admiral Gene LaRocque, Paul May-

er, Ruth Messinger, Jose Rivera, Bill Tabb, George Wald, Cora Weiss, Alan Wolfe. 8:00 p.m.: Wesley Brown, Meridel LeSueur, Denise Levertov, Grace Paley. Joe Cuomo, Coordinator. (212) 520-7800.

CHICAGO, IL

October 15

WOMEN IN ARMS—A film depicting the role of women in the new Nicaragua. There will be a discussion following with the producer, Victoria Schultz. Wednesday, 8:00 p.m. Admission is \$3.00. Cross Currents, 3206 N. Wilton. Sponsored by Chicago Committee in Support of the Nicaraguan People.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

October 17

Benefit Film Showing—"SOUTH AFRICA—THE NUCLEAR FILE"

—the role played by the West in creating a nuclear South Africa. Friday, 8:00 p.m.; All Soul's Church. \$2 Donation. Program also includes music by Lucy Murphy and Friends. For—Washington Office on Africa and Southern Africa Support Project. Sponsored by Common Concerns Bookshop/Resource Center.

November 20-23

TOWARD THE 21ST CENTURY: STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND SURVIVAL OF SELF-MANAGED ENTERPRISES will be the theme of the Sixth Annual Self-Management Conference at the Main Campus of Howard University. For more information contact K.C. Soares or Norris M. Haynes at (202) 636-7437.

DETROIT, MI

October 24-26

UNION DEMOCRACY'S 1ST NA-

TIONAL CONFERENCE at Ramada Metro. Unionists, lawyers, educators, civil libertarians discuss strengthening right of workers to control unions. Speakers include: Ed Sadlowski, Joe Rouh, Chip Yablonski, Msgr. Higgins, Victor Ruether and others. Hear about miners, painters, steelworkers, laborers, truck drivers, government workers, etc. from participants coming from North, South, East and West: California, Alaska, Canada. For information: Association for Union Democracy, 215 Park Avenue South, NYC 10003. (212) 473-0606.

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Women

Continued from page 16

Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) in Ruffin, N.C., finds it hard to make union meetings because she works seven days a week to support her family. Silvia Hobbs of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) local 2198 in Mississippi is a mother of nine and works 12 hours a day five days a week to support her family. "I've been a union member for 11 years, but I only became active in the last year or so," she said. "I always wanted to get involved, but didn't because of my children and because I was afraid to—I didn't think I was qualified."

In talking to union women at the midwest school this summer, staff member Roberta Till-Retz found that women repeatedly felt torn between their responsibilities as union members and as mothers, particularly with the number of working women today who are single parents. In addition, employers often make it clear to women workers that a sick child is not a sufficient reason for tardiness. "And what do you do when your babysitter doesn't show up at 5:00 in the morning and if you don't go to work you risk being fired?" asked another participant at the school.

Adequate child care has be-

come a central demand of labor union women. "Child care is essential during work, during union meetings, during labor schools, everywhere," says Till-Retz, who in talking to European union women found that it is often taken for granted by them. "It is at child-bearing age that union careers, like others, are made. Without child care, women can't participate. And child care at union meetings is the first step to getting it on the bargaining table," added Roberta.

Union women who gathered in Lexington, Ky., focused on the particular problems they face in southern right-to-work states. Suzanne Feliciano of UFCW local 227 went straight to the point. "We live in the most male-dominated and anti-union region in the country. Domineering men make it hard to organize women, and anti-union management is much stronger in the South. It's double jeopardy." CLUW has scheduled a conference Nov. 10-14 in Arlington, Texas, to focus on organizing and the rise of union-busting.

Another area of concern for women raised at the schools was the problem faced by women in non-traditional jobs, including sexual harassment, discrimination, resistance to affirmative action and economic insecurity. Women are particularly hurt during this period of economic recession, when they are among the last hired, first fired. "The fact that I have skills doesn't help me that much," states Nes-

ta Duncan, an industrial electrician at the Union Carbide atomic plant in Paducah, Ky. "I don't have it made except at a plant large enough that it has to comply with government regulations and will hire me because of that." Three hundred workers have been laid off at her plant since April, and 600 more will be laid off by the fall of next year. "Most of the women will be included in the layoffs because they were last hired. The women who remain will almost all be janitorial or laundry workers."

Support activities for union women are having tangible results. Angie Celius, for example, a hospital worker and member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) local 1991 in New Orleans, went home from last year's school and helped organize a local chapter of CLUW. According to Angie, "The first year, I came to the school by myself; but then I came back and brought six new women with me. That's how our movement's growing. We've got to keep organizing. We've especially got to get the younger women involved." Women from Kentucky attending this year's southern school went home to start two new CLUW chapters in the state. State-level women's schools have been or will be held in a number of states, including Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, New York, Florida and Michigan.

According to Maria-Luz Sam-

per, coordinator of the Committee on Programs for Union Women in UCLEA, weekend schools have been planned in the fall to reach those women whose work has prevented them from attending in the past. As another spin-off of this summer's northeastern school, 30 to 40 union women from New Jersey set up a statewide women's caucus to push for working women's rights in that state. "It's the networking that's key," commented Ida Castro. "When these women go home, they have a list of other women in their union and in their state who they can work with. And it's having a ripple effect."

Summing up her own and many other women's experiences this summer, Della Freeman of

North Carolina ACTWU stated, "When I look back and see what women workers in the past have been through, it just makes me want to get in there and fight. I'm 55, and now that my family is grown, I have more time to devote to the union. If I can make it easier for my daughter and my granddaughter, then that's what I want to do."

Laura Batt is a member of the Bluegrass Chapter of the New American Movement in Lexington, Ky. For further information on training, write Samper, Labor Education Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06269. "Absent from the Agenda: A Report on the Role of Women in American Unions" is available from CLUW, 15 Union Sq., NYC 10003.

CULTURE SHOCK

EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

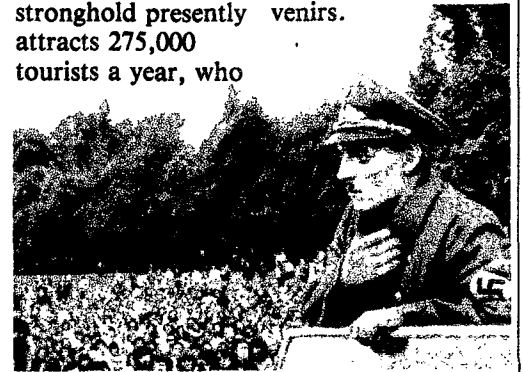
The Pentagon has applied "Pro-Tek," a new anti-graffiti spread, to its walls. This saves sandblasting the public statements made on the building's walls.

HITLER SELLS

Hans-Jurgen Syberberg, the cranky German who made *Our Hitler*, in his seven-hour film tirade criticized post-

war Western society for making money off Hitler's memory. Now the totals are in for one of the tourist spots. Hitler's Bavarian stronghold presently attracts 275,000 tourists a year, who

spend \$1.2 million in tickets to ride up to the "Eagle's Nest" atop a mountain and pay \$1.25 to enter a nearby hotel filled with souvenirs.



CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

LIBERTY OR DEATH, A Choice for Public Education, tells how the brainpower of children, teachers and parents can be used to create competent citizens. Freeworld Press, Box 25, Hatchita, NM 88040. \$3.00.

RONALD REAGAN—The Man and His Record. 300 page history of Reagan's finances and wealth, campaign strategy, aides and advisors, domestic and foreign policy. \$40.00. The Data Center, 484 19th Street, Oakland, CA 94612.

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MISCELLANEOUS

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By Laura Batt

Women Talking Union



"IN OUR AREA THERE'S NO way anyone can learn anything positive about unions—there's too much anti-unionism. I came back this year to recharge my batteries. I'm learning to be assertive.

"This school makes a difference because you know you've got all your union sisters supporting you," said Rosa White of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) local 223.

This summer she and 300 other women from more than 35 unions and 30 states participated in special training schools for labor union women, conducted by the University and College Labor Education Association (UCLEA). Three regional schools, held in Lexington, Ky., Iowa City, Ia., and New Brunswick, N.J., drew women of all ages and ethnic backgrounds, and all areas of work life. They came from private and public sector unions, from traditional and non-traditional jobs, from rank-and-file to district representatives. For many it was their first formal training; others, like Rosa White, came back for a third time.

Through these schools, union women are getting, for the first time since such schools existed in the '30s, the kind of skills, training and support they need to contribute more effectively to the labor movement, to assume leadership roles in their unions and to make women's concerns a union priority.

Only a small number of women hold national leadership positions. While 30 percent of union members are female, only 12 percent hold nationally elected offices, according to a study on the empowerment of union women, "Absent from the Agenda," recently released by the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). Only 12 percent of nationally appointed staff are women, and few women head up union departments. Those who do tend to be located in traditionally "women's areas"—social services and education and research departments.

But at the local and regional levels, CLUW found that although women are still underrepresented in top leadership, they are assuming more visible and vocal roles as shop stewards, as committee members, as local officers and regional representatives.

"You have to start at the local level," says Ida Castro, director of the 1980 northeastern school for union women.

"Seventy-two percent of the women who attended our women's school this year had had experience in local leadership roles, despite the fact that for many this school was their first formal training. We're here to help women through the political process. It's a matter of time."

For the first time in decades southern women are getting formal training in union organizing

LABOR SCHOOLS FOR WOMEN began five years ago through the efforts of a small group of women in UCLEA. They saw that few women ever participated in labor schools—a major source of formal training for union members in the nuts and bolts of collective bargaining, grievance handling, stewardship training, parliamentary procedure, labor law, economics and organizing. Lack of women's attendance reflected their status within unions.

Barbara Wertheimer, a key founder of the Committee on Programs for Women in UCLEA and director of the Institute for Women and Work at Cornell University, coordinated the first school for women at the University of Connecticut in 1976. Initial support for the northeast and midwest schools came from the AFL-CIO education department and some unions and state federations of labor, but there was no money available. A \$5,000 seed grant from the Ford Foundation provided scholarships for participants and funds for a planning and evaluation conference. But all of the schools have been run on a shoestring budget with staff time and facilities donated. Staff and students pay their own way if they can't get their respective employers and unions to send them.

Many women are sent by their unions—at the midwest school this year, 80 percent of the women had union backing, and many had travel and lost time paid for. Some, however, had great difficulty getting time off work even when their union was sending them. One woman had to file a grievance in order to be able to come. Other participants had to pay their own way and use vacation time to make the school.

MARGE RACHLIN AND JUDY Ellis of the UCLEA Committee on Programs for Women met with considerable skepticism when in 1977 they organized a southern school for union women. According to Marge, "Some said it couldn't be done, that southern women wouldn't turn out for a school like this. But 58 women attended the first women's school at the Presbyterian Center at Montreat, N.C. We proved that we could get the support of the state federations of labor and that women could get their locals to send them for training."

According to Barbara Wertheimer, "Women need to get in touch with one another, set up a network and learn how problems they face individually are common to all women. The schools have a tremendous spirit, an atmosphere of openness and sisterhood. It provides a base of support for them to go back and face their day-to-day problems."

"Women get information they need to participate in union activities, interpreted and discussed from a women's point of view. In labor history, the often neglected role of women is emphasized. Collective bargaining includes contract clauses to meet the particular needs of women. In labor law, equal employment issues are raised. In grievance handling, women learn how to file grievances concerning sexual harassment. Finally, a great many women don't have ongoing educational programs in their local unions and this is their only opportunity to get the skills and training they need."

The reality, too, is that husbands put up fewer roadblocks to their wives' attendance at labor schools if the schools are for women only.

In addition to gaining skills in traditional areas of labor relations and discussing issues of concern to all workers—the rise of the right, health and safety, union busting—union women have used these schools to strategize collectively about solving problems common to them as women. A major frustration for many union women, for example, is the number of demands placed on them—as wives, as homemakers, as mothers, as working women.

Gladys Draughn, for example, a member of local 3177 of the Amalgamated

Continued on page 15